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CONTENTS

Editorial	iv
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ARTICLES

Richard Cobb and Domestic Music in the Household of Henry Bourchier, 5 th Earl of Bath, 1638-1655 – DAVID FORCE	1
The Villeneuve Manuscripts: a New Approach to Marin Marais – JONATHAN DUNFORD and FRANÇOIS-PIERRE GOY	24
Anatomy of a Tablebook – DAVID PINTO	75
The Auckland Thomas Cole Bass Viol - POLLY SUSSEX	88

BOOK REVIEWS.

John Cunningham and Bryan White: <i>Musical Exchange between Britain and Europe 1500-1800. Essays in Honour of Peter Holman</i> – ANDREW ASHBEE	93
Andrew Ashbee: <i>The Harmonious Musick of John Jenkins, Volume two: Suites, Aires and Vocal Music</i> – JOHN CUNNINGHAM	99
Bettina Hoffman: <i>I Bassi d'Arco di Antonio Vivaldi: Violoncello, Contrabasso e Viola da Gamba [...]</i> [In Italian] – CELIA POND	104
NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS	108

Abbreviations used in issues of this Journal:

GMO *Grove Music Online*, ed. D. Root <<http://0-www.oxfordmusiconline.com>>.
 IMCCM *The Viola da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts Containing Consort Music*, ed. A. Ashbee, R. Thompson and J. Wainwright, I (Aldershot, 2001); II (Aldershot, 2008). Now online at <www.vdgs.org.uk/indexmss.html>
 MGG2 *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. L. Finscher <<http://www.mgg-online.com>>
 ODNB *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. L. Goldman <www.oxforddnb.com>.
 RISM *Repertoire internationale des sources musicales*. www.rism.info

Editorial

It is good to have another substantial study of music in a mid-seventeenth century household, which David Force has provided with his fine account of that of Henry and Rachel Bouchier in Devon and London. One of the most important viol-related discoveries in recent years is the great volume of music by Marin Marais acquired by the French Viola da Gamba Society and now at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. It was first seen by Jonathan Dunford and he and François-Pierre Goy have here produced a comprehensive study of the book and its Villeneuve relations. This will be the authoritative account for years to come. David Pinto examines and explores the structure and idiosyncrasies of British Library, Add. 31390, perhaps the most important book of 'instrumental' pieces in England from the Tudor period. Polly Sussex's article on the Thomas Cole bass viol now in Auckland, New Zealand was originally published in *The Viol.* no. 20 of Autumn 2010 and is revived in this *Journal* to remind of its significance.

[Footnote: In the course of converting 'The Villeneuve Manuscripts' from and to Adobe pdf, a number of errors were corrected by the authors and editor, where the programme read grave and acute accents as a 'p' or 'q'. We hope we have caught them all, but a further problem is that Garamond is not recognised by Adobe 9 either, meaning corrections have had to go through the same process twice. Also the Appendices have no page numbers, for which I apologize.]

Richard Cobb and Domestic Music in the Household of Henry Bouchier, 5th Earl of Bath, 1638-1655

DAVID FORCE

The surviving papers of Rachel Bouchier, 5th Countess of Bath, contain a wealth of detail concerning the Bouchier households in Devon and London during the second quarter of the seventeenth century. This paper discusses the rich vein of information the sources provide relating to the musical arrangements within this aristocratic, royalist context, and in particular seeks to examine the figure of Richard Cobb, the Bouchier's resident organist, who, it is proposed, may be identified as the hitherto elusive composer of the same name whose works, most probably written for the Bouchiers, are found in several sources from the 1650s and 1660s.



*Henry Bouchier KB, 5th Earl of Bath: Anon.
(possibly George Geldorp or Peter Lely) c.1638*

Henry Bouchier, 5th Earl of Bath (1587-1654), inherited his title in March 1637 from his cousin Edward, who had died without issue. Described by the Earl of Clarendon as a man of 'sour-tempered unsocial behaviour', others portrayed him as a scholar and benefactor of the arts who had been thrust by circumstance into social and political positions that he had not sought.¹ An Irishman by birth and a country landowner by vocation, now, as the leading nobleman in Devon, he was to play an influential political and military role in the county during the Civil War on behalf of the royalist cause. Captured and imprisoned in 1642, he was released the following year on condition of exile, but instead joined the king in Oxford and was

appointed Lord Privy Seal. During the Commonwealth he was pronounced a delinquent and fined heavily up until his death in 1654. In December 1639 Bouchier married Rachel Fane, the fifth daughter of Francis Fane, 1st Earl of Westmorland. The Fanes were an artistic family: two of Rachel's brothers, Mildmay and Francis, were prolific poets and playwrights, and Mildmay also

¹ E. Clarendon, *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England* (Oxford, 1702, repr. 1992), ii. 16

composed the music for his own masques, staged at the family home of Apethorpe Hall, Northamptonshire. Rachel herself wrote a masque with music that was staged there when she was only 14 years of age.² With her husband so often absent for military or political reasons, Rachel Bouchier was obliged to spend much of her time overseeing the family estates at Tawstock, but her papers reveal that music still played an important role in the household throughout her time there.

The Tawstock estate was focused on the house in the village of the same name just south of Barnstaple and 30 miles to the north-east of Exeter; it extended to 36 manors, mostly in the west of England. The house was the largest in Devon, comprising 63 rooms including a Great Chamber with its associated withdrawing room and bedchamber, as well as extensive outbuildings. Inventories of 1638, 1639 and 1655 list its contents in detail. In 1638 there were 36 household servants and, in addition to members of the wider family, a curate, chaplain, gentleman sewer and several musicians were allocated their own chambers. From 1641 the earl also rented a house at 53-54 Lincoln's Inn Fields from which he could conduct his London business. Newly built in 1640, it was expensively furnished, and the accounts record a frequent traffic of goods and personnel between the two houses. Tawstock House suffered a devastating fire in 1787 and was subsequently rebuilt as the present building, known as Tawstock Court, in 1800, whilst the London house also burned in 1759 and was eventually demolished in 1912.

The surviving documentary sources for the household during this period include an extensive series of accounts for Tawstock and Lincoln's Inn Fields, Rachel Bouchier's personal account book, and correspondence and other documents relating mainly to the countess's personal affairs.³ After the 5th earl's death, the countess entered into what was, by all accounts, a deeply unhappy marriage with Lionel Cranfield, 3rd Earl of Middlesex; by 1657 the couple were estranged and Cranfield had sold off all of the countess's family possessions. He retained her personal papers, however, presumably hoping to find something in them that would be to his material advantage, and after his death they passed via his sister's marriage into the Sackville family. They are now preserved as part of the Sackville collection held at the Kent County Archives in Maidstone. The surviving papers provide a highly detailed glimpse into the workings of the Bouchier household over a seventeen-year period, detailing everything from the entertainment of royalty down to the purchase of 'paper for the stools'. The information regarding music within these documents is of especial interest, comprising over a hundred entries that allow a particularly detailed insight into the musical life of a mid-seventeenth-century aristocratic household.⁴

² M. O'Connor, 'Rachel Fane's May Masque at Apethorpe, 1627' *English Literary Renaissance* 36:1 (2006), 90-113

³ Many of these are transcribed in T. Gray, *Devon Household Accounts, 1627-59, Part II Henry, Fifth Earl of Bath and Rachel, Countess of Bath, 1637-1655* (Exeter, 1996)

⁴ The principal documents consulted here are: U269/A518/1 (London expenses 1642-47); U269/A518/2 (London expenses 1647-49); U269/A518/3 (London expenses 1649-52); U269/A518/5 (Countess of Bath's General Account Book 1639-54); U269/A520/4 (Tawstock expenses 1637-39); U269/A525/5 (Tawstock expenses 1640-44); U269/A525/6 (Tawstock expenses 1644-45); U269/A525/9 (Tawstock expenses and receipts 1650-51); U269/T96/4 (Inventory of Tawstock c1655). Entries from these sources presented here are mainly drawn

Music had played a prominent role in the Bouchier family for several generations. John Bouchier, the 2nd earl, had been tutored as a boy in Ely and Cambridge by Sir William Spring, who was a patron of the composer Nicholas Stogers (fl.1560-1575). Spring's account books record the purchase of many music manuscripts for his charge, including vocal works by Stogers and ruled manuscript paper for exercises and composition.⁵ John's son William, the 3rd earl, maintained the Ely connection through his patronage of John Amner (1579-1641), organist and choirmaster of Ely Cathedral, financing Amner's passage through Oxford that culminated in the award of a B.Mus. in 1613. Amner reciprocated by dedicating his only publication, 'Sacred Hymnes of 3. 4. 5 and 6. Parts for Voyces and Vyols' (1615), to William Bouchier and composing an 'Elegy to Master Thomas Hynson', Bouchier's friend, distant relative and secretary at Tawstock, who died in April 1614.⁶ Amner strengthened his links with Tawstock by marrying a local girl, Sara Striblin, in 1608, and it seems that Sara may have returned to her roots after her husband's death in 1641 as the Tawstock accounts record the income from '3 years of widow Amner's ten.[ure]' of a property in January 1644/5.⁷ Although it cannot be proven that Amner's music was played at Tawstock, the contents of 'Sacred Hymns' is typical of the kind of repertoire used for devotional and recreational use in domestic households of this period, and his viol consort music, found in manuscript in Lbl MSS 30,862-8, which includes several suites of dances, is also very likely to have been used for amateur consumption.⁸ Several members of the 3rd earl's family are known to have been musicians: Frances Bouchier, his third daughter, for example, was a cousin of Lady Anne



Rachel Fane, Dowager Countess of Bath:
Anon. (possibly George Geldorp) after 1654

from Gray, *Devon Household Accounts*, and follow his convention of modernising the spellings of common words. I append the page numbers editorially added to the original documents by Gray, and also give page numbers in square brackets referring to Gray's book, for the convenience of those wishing to consult it.

⁵ Lbl Harl. MS 7390 (Accounts of Sir William Spring)

⁶ For an examination of Amner's vocal works, see M. Keane, 'Domestic Sacred Music in Jacobean England: John Amner's *Sacred Hymnes... for Voyces and Vyols* (1615)' Ph.D. thesis (University of Dublin, 2019)

⁷ MA U269/A518/5, 75 [189]

⁸ Kenneth Long claimed Amner's book was composed specifically for the Bouchier household, which is quite possible but unfortunately not verifiable. K. Long, *The Music of the English Church* (London, 1972), 185

Clifford, who recollected that the two girls were taught the bass viol together as teenagers by John Jenkins.⁹

Shortly after the arrival of the 5th earl at Tawstock, an inventory was taken in January 1637/8 that listed in the parlour '1 pair of organs with virginals' [i.e. a claviorgan] and in the 'Chamber up the stairs by the Closets ... 1 chest of vials'. A second inventory was taken in 1639, by which time the newly-married countess was in residence and making her mark on the house: the instruments had increased in number and had been moved to 'The Stair Case', where they were listed as '1 organ with virginal; 1 chest of viols; one very greate double base viole, one Irish harp, one little viol, one violin.' In the Great Chamber was also '1 fair organ'.¹⁰ Although the great chamber, dining room and long gallery are the most frequently recorded spaces for consort playing in the larger seventeenth-century aristocratic houses, a few other contemporary inventories also mention instruments in the staircase hall. As well as the convenience of providing storage space, it may perhaps be that this location was sometimes favoured as it allowed the music to permeate the house up the stairs and along the corridors and landings.

Although the exact number of viols at Tawstock was not specified, the provision of the instruments listed in the 1639 inventory, including the violin, claviorgan, harp and the 'very greate double base', comprised resources sufficient to cater for almost every requirement of pre-Restoration string consort music. The 'greate double base' in particular was a rare feature at this date: apart from this example, and the four instruments recorded at the court in London, the only other viol of this type so far discovered in inventories prior to the Restoration was owned by the Petres at Ingatestone Hall, Essex (1638), a family also noted for their rich provision of music.¹¹ It is interesting to wonder how the Bouchiers used it. The only extant English works to call for it from this period are the 'dooble bass' fantasias of Orlando Gibbons, together with three other pieces now attributed to Coprario, all of which date from 1620-25.¹² The court dooble basses were very expensive: a 'greate base Vvall' purchased from Jeremy Lanier in January 1624/25, for example, cost £20.¹³ It seems curious that a provincial household would commit to the outlay for such an expensive instrument just to play these few works, unless perhaps there was some particular reason for doing so, such as a connection with Gibbons or Coprario. The unusual characteristics of the fantasias have led several commentators to suggest that they were written to a brief, and the most likely source of such a commission, other than from the court, would have been a wealthy and musical domestic household.¹⁴ The Hattons of Ware, Hertfordshire, patronized Gibbons earlier in the century, but the earliest evidence for their ownership of a dooble bass that has so far come

⁹ D. Clifford (Ed.), *The Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford* (Stroud, 1996), 16

¹⁰ MA U269/A518/5, 219 [221]

¹¹ P. Holman, *Life after Death: the Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch* (Woodbridge, 2010), 43-47

¹² See J. Rosenholtz-Witt, *The Instrumentation of Orlando Gibbons' Dooble Base Fantasias*. Paper presented at the Rocky Mountain Regional AMS Conference, Greeley CO, 31 March 2012; and O. Neighbour, 'Orlando Gibbons (1583-1625): The Consort Music' *Early Music* 11:3 (1983), 360-364

¹³ Lna E351/544 m.194r (Accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber)

¹⁴ See, for example, J. Harley, *Orlando Gibbons and the Gibbons Family of Musicians* (Aldershot, 1999), 130

to light does not appear until c1669 when their resident musician, George Jeffreys, wrote for a 'Great Basse' (playing down to BB \flat) in the *Simphonia* from the secular cantata *Felice Pastorella*.¹⁵ It may alternatively be the case that the Bouchiers wished to associate themselves by imitation with the current practices of the court, or with the latest cutting-edge developments in contemporary composition as lately seen in London.¹⁶ Unfortunately there are no extant Bouchier sources for expenses prior to 1639, and those thereafter are almost silent with regard to the music employed by the household, so it is impossible to know in exactly what repertoire their many and various instruments were used.

The Tawstock accounts do not specifically name any professional resident musicians other than the organist, Richard Cobb, discussed below, but the 1639 inventory recorded a musicians' chamber that contained four beds. It seems that Cobb did not share this with them for a list of 'the names of servants who lie together' shows that he occupied chamber no 11 with Thomas Wyott, the earl's secretary.¹⁷ Several members of the family also played instruments. The 1639 inventory listed '1 viol with a case, 1 gittern with a case' in a chamber 'without the Gentlewomen Chamber', which suggests that they were placed there for the dedicated use of the ladies of the house.¹⁸ Elizabeth Bouchier, one of the 4th earl's daughters, who continued to occupy a chamber at Tawstock after her father's death, was one such player:

October 1640 lent my Lady Eliz. Bourcheir for a guitar &
book & strings 2 5 0¹⁹

The countess herself appears personally to have possessed, and presumably therefore to have played, a violin and viol: her accounts record:

February 1651/2 to Mr Smyth for a violin for your Ladyship
03 05 00²⁰
May 1652 more of him [William Lynn] for the
theorbo, my viol case &c 10 0 0²¹

Lynn was secretary of the London house, and presumably sourced these latter items in the city. At least two other members of the London household played instruments:

¹⁵ Lbl Add MS 10,338, 118-127. For further information on music and the Hattons see J. Wainwright, *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England: Christopher, First Baron Hatton (1605-1670)* (Aldershot, 1997). Peter Holman wondered if the viol were an Italian *contrabasso*, although the Bouchiers appear to have had no obvious connection with Italy prior to this time. Personal communication, P. Holman to A. Ashbee, November 2020.

¹⁶ Contemporary correspondence relating to William Bouchier, the 3rd earl (1557-1623) acknowledged the disadvantages of Tawstock's remote location in furthering the family's political and court career. Perhaps the musical establishment was part of an attempt to mitigate this. See I. Cooper, *Networks, News and Communication: Political Elites and Community Relations in Elizabethan Devon, 1588-1603* Ph.D. thesis (Plymouth University, 2012), 50-51.

¹⁷ MA U269/E294/RC (Lists of servants and miscellaneous memoranda, Tawstock House)

¹⁸ MA U269/A518/5, 217 [223]

¹⁹ MA U269/A518/5, 40 [178]

²⁰ MA U269/A518/3, 24 [162]

²¹ MA U269/A518/5, 102 [294]

June 1640	for Walker's learning of the fiddle 0 7 6, for the fiddle and strings 0 16 0 ²²
27 April 1652	for a viol for Miss Edney 01 10 0 ²³
June 1652	to Smith for a viol for Randale 1 10 0 ²⁴

Walker was the steward of Tawstock, and Peyton Randall was a boy who had been taken under the countess's wing: her support of him extended to an education at Westminster School as well as his viol. The name Edney in conjunction with viols rings bells in the minds of historians of the instrument insofar as Peter Edney (d.1620), a member of the royal flute consort, was noted as a supplier of viols and viol strings to both the court and aristocratic customers. Whether this Miss Edney was connected with him is doubtful: a 'Mrs Edny' received significant sums from the estate at Tawstock in the early 1650s, but her role is also obscure. The Smith who made the viol and the Smyth who made the countess's violin, both in 1652, may be one (or two) of the various Smiths that operated as instrument makers in the Parish of St Andrew, Holborn at this time.²⁵ This was not the Smith hailed by Thomas Mace as one of those makers of whom 'there are no *Better* in the *World*' for he, Henry Smith, had died in 1647,²⁶ but the 'Mr Alred' who repaired the earl's viol in January 1642/3²⁷ can be identified with Thomas Aldred, another maker similarly acclaimed by Mace, who was also based in Holborn and supplied viols to the Duke of Devonshire and Simon Ives, among others.²⁸

Expenditure for strings and other consumables, together with repairs and tuning of the instruments, was noted at both houses:

26 April 1639	to the guitar man 0 2 6 ²⁹ [Tawstock]
August 1641	to Mr Tomkines in full of £9 given for a viol 3 0 0 ³⁰ [Tawstock]
October 1641	Item paid Mr Tonkins for strings 00 05 00 ³¹ [Tawstock]
17 May 1648	for viol strings virginal strings and rosen 00 17 0 ³² [London]
June 1649	for lute strings 2 0 0 ³³ [London]
July 1649	for four viol bows 00 08 00 ³⁴ [London]
Michaelmas 1651	for a box to send paper & other things when the viol strings went down

²² MA U269/A518/5, 22 [175]

²³ MA U269/A518/5, 103 [293]

²⁴ MA U269/A518/5, 102 [294]

²⁵ M. Fleming and J. Bryan, *Early English Viols: Instruments, Makers and Music* (London, 2016), 205

²⁶ T. Mace, *Musick's Monument, or a Remembrancer of the best Practical Musick...* (London, 1676), 245; Fleming and Bryan, *Early English Viols*, 203

²⁷ MA U269/A526

²⁸ Fleming and Bryan, *Early English Viols*, 190-4

²⁹ MA U269/A518/5, 189 [232]

³⁰ MA U269/A518/5, 184 [240]

³¹ MA U269/A525/5, 49 [14]

³² MA U269/A518/2, 19 [141]

³³ MA U269/A518/3, title page [148]

³⁴ MA U269/A518/3, 2 [149]

	00 01 00 ³⁵ [London]
January 1651/2	to the man that mended the organ then the
	10 th of Octob. 1 0 0 ³⁶ [Tawstock]

The Tawstock accounts include numerous payments to groups of fiddlers and other unspecified musicians between 1638 and 1650. Most of these payments were for a standard outlay of 5s and were mainly associated with the Devon manors that formed part of the Bouchier estates; the dates indicate that many of these performances were held in connection with Christmas, New Year and harvest revels. In 1640, £8 was expended on ‘making the fiddlers coats’, which suggests that the earl’s musicians played in livery.³⁷ Other payments demonstrate that external musicians were occasionally employed at Tawstock, such as:

January 1640/1	to my Lord Paulet’s harper 0 15 0 ³⁸
18 September 1641	Item given to the harper by my Lady’s command 00 10 00 ³⁹
17 September 1642	Item given to Sir Bevil Grenvill’s fiddlers by command 00 05 ⁴⁰
4 May 1644	Item given the trumpeter 00 02 06 ⁴¹

John Paulet, 5th Marquess of Winchester, and Sir Bevil Grenville both achieved fame for their heroic acts in the civil wars, and these connections reflect the strongly royalist stance taken by the 5th earl himself. When, in June 1645, the 15-year-old Prince of Wales and members of his retinue were sent to Barnstaple to escape the plague in Bristol, they were entertained lavishly by the Bouchiers at Tawstock. In connection with this visit the accounts record:

21 June 1645	Item given the Prince’s musicians 01 00 00 ⁴²
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It would be interesting to know which members of Charles’s musical establishment accompanied him during his time in the West Country prior to his exile on the continent. Other royal musicians were mentioned in association with the London house; it is possible that their Christmas gifts were in appreciation of ceremonial to which they contributed there:

December 1641	given the Prince’s drummers at Christmas 0 10 0 ... given the King’s drummers 1 0 0 ⁴³
9 December 1647	To the king’s Trumpeters 00 10 00 ⁴⁴

The countess evidently enjoyed a degree of ceremony at Tawstock too, as demonstrated by the ‘trumpet I bought cost 45s for Will: Elis to sound when I went upon the water’.⁴⁵ The house was close to the River Taw, and numerous

³⁵ MA U269/A518/3, 21 [161]

³⁶ MA U269/A518/5, 104 [293]

³⁷ MA U269/A525/5, 23 [9]

³⁸ MA U269/A518/5, 45 [179]

³⁹ MA U269/A525/5, 43 [10]

⁴⁰ MA U269/A525/5, 96 [22]

⁴¹ MA U269/A525/5, 191 [39]

⁴² MA U269/A525/6, 39 [60]

⁴³ MA U269/A518/5, 180 [242]

⁴⁴ MA U269/A518/2, 12 [137]

⁴⁵ MA U269/A518/5, 215 [225]

trips by boat are recorded by both Rachel and Henry. Another trumpet, costing 10s, was purchased for the London house in 1648, where it was played by a Mr Cope, apparently to announce the arrival of the earl.⁴⁶

An intriguing entry from December 1651 records the countess paying ‘to Mr Cobb’s brother for a composing card 01 03 00’,⁴⁷ and in the same month the singing teacher, Moullins, was paid 19s ‘for a music card’.⁴⁸ It seems that these cards were a form of erasable tablet ruled with staves that were used for didactic or compositional purposes. A reference to a similar item occurred at the court in January 1628/9 when Andrea Lanier was paid £3 ‘for two Italian musique cards to compose upon at 30s. each’.⁴⁹ Known as a *cartella* on the continent, the tablets could be made of slate, plaster, wood, wax or pasteboard, and the best examples were considered to be those sourced in Venice.⁵⁰ The countess’s youthful masque demonstrates that she was certainly a creative individual, and it is interesting to wonder whether she used these cards herself for writing music. Lynn Hulse found evidence that a number of her contemporaries from noble families studied composition, but it was not considered seemly for an aristocrat to disseminate their work beyond the confines of their private chambers and few examples survive in manuscript.⁵¹

It is a pity that few extant musical sources can be directly associated with the household, but the accounts record the purchase of books of music along with blank ruled music paper:

19 May 1649	4 music books 6s ⁵²
Michaelmas 1651	for 3 viol books & 3 quire of ruled paper 00 07 00 ⁵³
Michaelmas 1651	for the book of the psalms by Doctor Kinge 00 01 06 ⁵⁴

The last of these items was probably ‘The Psalmes of David from the New Translation of the Bible Turned into Meter to be Sung after the Old Tunes Used in the Churches ...’ by Henry King (1651). An important role of the consort organ was to support domestic vocal music, which was often practised as part of a family’s private devotions as well as for recreation. Many organs were provided with two-rank mixture stops which, being of high pitch, do not have quite so obvious a role in the playing of consort music with strings, but which made the instrument, as Thomas Mace put it, ‘sprightly lusty and strong like a Little Church Organ’.⁵⁵ The Bouchier accounts are particularly informative with regard to the provision of the organs at Tawstock and the London house.

⁴⁶ MA U269/A518/2, 16 [139]

⁴⁷ MA U269/A518/3, 22 [161]

⁴⁸ MA U269/A518/5, 105 [292]

⁴⁹ Lna LC5/132 p.75 (Lord Chamberlain: warrants of various sorts). I am grateful to David Pinto for drawing my attention to this reference.

⁵⁰ J. Owens, *Composers at Work: the Craft of Musical Composition 1450-1600* (Oxford, 1997), 88

⁵¹ L. Hulse, ‘The Musical Patronage of the English Aristocracy c1590-1640’ Ph.D. thesis (King’s College, London 1992), 154

⁵² MA U269/A518/5, 126 [277]

⁵³ MA U269/A518/3, 11 [155]

⁵⁴ MA U269/A518/3, 21 [161]

⁵⁵ Mace, *Musick’s Monument*, 244

The ‘organs with virginals’ recorded at Tawstock in 1639 was a claviorgan; it is curious that no single word was adopted to describe such instruments at this time, but instead convoluted terms such as ‘a virginal with a wind instrument in it’ (Skipton Castle, 1620)⁵⁶ or an ‘Organ and harpsicall to geather’ (Welbeck Abbey, 1636)⁵⁷ are found. The Tawstock claviorgan may have been made along the lines of the English example by Lodewijk Theewes (1579), of which the casework survives in the V&A collection, consisting essentially of a harpsichord mounted on top of a chest organ, or it may have followed the design of examples found on the continent in which the stringed component took the form of a polygonal virginals. Although the convenience of combining an organ and harpsichord in the same casework may be attractive from a modern perspective, it is not at all clear how such instruments were used in the seventeenth century. Terence Charlston made some suggestions in relation to the solo repertoire, particularly with regard to how the two parts of the instrument may have been played in conjunction with each other, but the role of the claviorgan in consort music is not well defined.⁵⁸ By far the majority of the pre-Restoration string consort repertoire that specifies a keyboard instrument calls for the organ and not the harpsichord, and it may be that, in contexts where a claviorgan was found in conjunction with viols, only the organ section was used in consort.

The ‘fair organ’ listed in the Great Chamber in the 1638 inventory is unusual for the very high valuation of £100 placed on it. Comparison with the prices of new consort organs listed in Table 1 demonstrates that most were made for less than half this sum.⁵⁹ Possibly it was exceptionally large, like John Loosemore’s comparably-priced instrument built in 1665 for Nettlecombe Court, Devon, which, with eight stops and metal pipes, was built more along the lines of a small church organ,⁶⁰ or perhaps it was lavishly decorated, like the larger of the two consort organs purchased for Hatfield House, Hertfordshire, in 1609, which was gilded for £26 4s 3d by Rowland Bucket in 1611.⁶¹ Given that the Great Chamber organ was apparently replaced by the new instrument built by Robert Dallam in 1641 discussed below, and may also be the ‘old organ’ found in an upstairs chamber in the 1655 inventory, it may simply be that the valuer was insufficiently experienced with organs to put an accurate price on it.⁶²

⁵⁶ CW Bolton MSS bk. 99, f. 223v (Skipton Castle inventory)

⁵⁷ L. Hulse, ‘The Duke of Newcastle and the English Viol’ *Chelys* 29 (2001), 29

⁵⁸ T. Charlston, ‘An instrument in search of its repertoire? The Theewes claviorgan and its use in the performance of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century keyboard music’ *Journal of the Royal College of Organists* 3 (2009), 24-41

⁵⁹ See D. Force, ‘A Holding, Uniting-Constant Friend’: the Organ in Seventeenth-Century English Domestic Music’ Ph.D. thesis (Open University, 2019), 57-58

⁶⁰ Tar DD/WO 40/11 (Contract for Nettlecombe Court organ)

⁶¹ HMC Salisbury MS Bills 58/1

⁶² An example of another over-inflated organ valuation is the ‘fayre stately 500l. organ’ seen in Sir Arthur Ingram’s house at York in 1634. The account was written by three members of the Norwich military company in their survey of twenty-six counties (Lb1 Lansdowne MS 213 f.320). The price of the Hatfield organ is often quoted in secondary sources as £1,060, paid to the Dutch merchant John Haan, but this sum also included a range of other luxury goods, such as a ‘clock in the forme of a turtus’ and a ‘table of silver like a picture’ (HMC Salisbury MSS accounts 9/5).

Table 1: Cost of newly-built seventeenth-century consort organs

Date	Cost	Builder	Location	Type
1608	£24	T. Dallam	Hatfield House	‘portative’
1609	£35	Anon	Hatfield House	‘positive’
1622	£44	Craddock	St James’s Palace	
1629	£22	? Dallam	The Deanery, Canterbury	Table, 4 stops
1630	£11	? Dallam	Hunstanton Hall	Table, 4 stops
1641/2	£60	R. Dallam	Tawstock Court	
1646	£20	Burward	Bath House, London	
1655	£21	Loosemore	Tawstock Court	
1665	£48	R. Dallam	Oxford Music School	Cabinet, 4 stops
1665	£100	Loosemore	Nettlecombe Court	8 stops
1667	£40	Anon	Whitehall Palace	

On 5 August 1639, the Tawstock accounts recorded ‘Item paid to Loosemore for mending the wind instrument 00 15 0’.⁶³ The term ‘wind instrument’ as found in early seventeenth-century sources does not, as one might expect, refer to a woodwind or brass instrument, but was a common term for a domestic organ.⁶⁴ Loosemore was the Exeter-based organ builder John Loosemore (1616-1681). His surviving work as an instrument maker includes a virginals dated 1655 now held by the V&A, the organ case at Exeter Cathedral (completed 1664), and also the organ at Nettlecombe Court, Devon, built in 1665. John’s father, Samuel, was also an organ builder, and the two men built or maintained many church instruments in Devon, including that at Hartland, one of the Bouchier manors. John’s brothers, Henry and George, were both organists and composers, working at King’s and Jesus Colleges in Cambridge respectively. Henry was also a domestic organist, having been the part-time resident musician at Kirtling Hall for the North family during the 1650s.⁶⁵ John Loosemore’s first appearance in the Tawstock accounts in 1639 actually related to redecorating a room (‘Item paid to Goodman Loosemore for colouring the withdrawing room 00 8 0’)⁶⁶ and he continued to appear in the context of other domestic as well as musical tasks:

20 August 1642	Item paid to Lesamoore for tuning the organ 01 10 00 ⁶⁷
17 March 1644	Paid John Losamoore for mending a vial and my Lord’s holsters 00 02 06 ⁶⁸

⁶³ MA U269/A520/4, 6 [3]

⁶⁴ This was especially the case in earlier seventeenth-century English domestic sources: the term ‘organ’ or ‘organs’, in a wide variety of spellings, was often reserved for church instruments. This distinction in terminology reflected the numerous organological differences between liturgical and consort organs at this period. It is only later that ‘organ’ became more common in domestic contexts, occasionally augmented by terms such as ‘chamber’ or ‘cabinet’, referring to the type of room in which they were deployed (‘cabinet’ being then a private withdrawing room).

⁶⁵ North Family Account Books, quoted on the *Loosemore* website <<http://www.loosemore.co.uk/Chapter7/CHAPTER7text.htm>> (accessed 18 January 2018)

⁶⁶ MA U269/A520/4, 6 [2]

⁶⁷ MA U269/A525/5, 91 [21]

⁶⁸ MA U269/A525/5, 171 [35]

This factotum approach mirrored his role at Exeter Cathedral where, in addition to building and maintaining the organs, he undertook a wide range of tasks, culminating in his appointment as Clerk of the Works in January 1669/70.⁶⁹ In 1655 the final entry in the Tawstock accounts recorded:

28 October 1655 Item Mr Loosemore by command in part
of £21 05 00 00⁷⁰

Such a large sum indicates more than just repair work, and could have represented a new organ, but the termination of the accounts at this point prevents further investigation. It has been suggested that this transaction may be connected with the extant Loosemore virginals, dated 1655, in the V&A, but I am inclined to doubt this on the basis of the price: the virginals purchased for the court during the seventeenth century, for example, generally cost no more than £15, with only one luxurious instrument costing as much as £20.⁷¹ The V&A Loosemore is competently made and its decoration is attractive, but it is by no means exceptional in any respect.⁷²

Loosemore was not the only organ builder to work for the Bouchiers. In July 1641 the countess paid ‘To one Pallam an organist for work to be done 7 0 0’.⁷³ The term ‘organist’ at this period could equally refer to a maker as well as a player of the instrument, and subsequent entries reveal that ‘Pallam’ was in fact the organ builder Robert Dallam (1602-1665), a member of the second of five generations of his family to pursue the craft. Dallam built a large number of liturgical organs for churches and chapels, including the cathedrals of York, Lichfield and Gloucester, and he and his successors Ralph Dallam and Renatus Harris also have the largest number of the surviving consort organs attributed to them. Being a Catholic, he fled to France in 1642 where he built further church and cathedral instruments before returning to England at the Restoration. Whilst the post-Restoration organs of the Dallam and Harris dynasty incorporated a number of imported French characteristics, they continued to build consort organs within the uniquely English tradition of very narrow-scaled, open wooden pipe-making. Such pipes were carefully voiced with harmonic characteristics and speech transients that were designed to imitate and blend with stringed instruments, better to complement them in consort and to fulfill the role, described by Thomas Mace, of the organ ‘Evenly, Softly, and Sweetly Acchording to All’.⁷⁴ As well as their sound, which differed noticeably from the style of voicing used in contemporary church organs, English consort instruments included a number of features that enhanced their role in conjunction with instrumental ensembles.⁷⁵ These included divided stops that enabled the treble of the string texture to be reinforced (especially when treble

⁶⁹ EXc MS 3560 (Exeter Cathedral Act Book 1667-1677)

⁷⁰ MA U269/A525/9, 45 [110]

⁷¹ This was for an instrument made by Robert Henlake in 1607 for the personal use of Queen Anne: Lna SC6/Jas.I/1648

⁷² See D. Martin, ‘The English Virginal’ Ph.D. Thesis (University of Edinburgh 2003), ii 162-173

⁷³ MA U269/A518/5, 185 [239]

⁷⁴ Mace, *Musick’s Monument*, 234

⁷⁵ It may also be added that the sound of the seventeenth-century English consort organ differed considerably from that of most modern continuo organs as used by present-day ensembles. See Force, *The Organ in Seventeenth-Century English Domestic Music*, 32-41

viols were used), stop controls mounted very close to the keyboard so that changes of dynamic could be readily employed to ‘humour’ the music, and mild temperaments that allowed the often wide-ranging tonal spectrum of consort music to be played comfortably.

Dallam was working on his organ for Gloucester Cathedral when he received the commission for Tawstock, and it appears that he made the parts for the Bouchiers’ organ at his temporary workshop there before having them transported to Tawstock by ship. The parts made their way down the Severn from Gloucester, along the north coast of Devon to the small port of Appledore, where they were transferred to a boat along the river Taw, which ran within half a mile of Tawstock House. The entries in the accounts show that the organ cost £60, with £7 paid in advance in July 1641, £33 in November, and £20 on completion in March 1642. The cost of the transport was £3 9s 6d in total:

July 1641	To one Pallam an organist for work to be done 7 0 0 ⁷⁶
20 November 1641	Item paid Mr Dolham the organ maker 33 00 00; ... item paid for bringing the materials for the organ from Gloster 01 12 00 ⁷⁷
1 January 1641/2	Item paid Mr Dolham for what he disbursed for bringing the residue of the things for the organ from Gloster 01 14 00 ⁷⁸
8 January 1641/2	Item paid for bringing the things for the organ from Apledore by boat 00 03 06 ⁷⁹
19 March 1642	Item paid Mr Dolham in full 020 00 00 ⁸⁰

In the meantime, it seems as if the need for a new consort organ at Tawstock was felt to be sufficiently urgent for a temporary instrument to be supplied: in July 1641 the accounts record a payment ‘to men that brought a little pair of organs the 27 July 0 5 0’.⁸¹ This organ does not appear to have been purchased and it does not feature in the sources again, so we may assume it was on loan whilst Dallam worked on his instrument. By March 1642 Dallam was finished, and Pollard, the Tawstock steward, wrote to the earl in London to report that: ‘Lugg [John Luge (c1580-c1647)] the organist of Exeter hath byn here to trye the goodness of the new organ and gives it a very good commendation to bee sweetest that ever hee playd upon and that Mr Dallam hath well deserved X^{li} more according to the articles of agreement.’ The earl objected to the extra payment, but Pollard claimed that Dallam ‘was soe much troublesome that he swore many fearfull oaths that he would not departe the house before hee had his full bargaine which I believe, if wee shuld have kept hym it would have cost your honour a great deal more.’⁸² Perhaps Dallam, mindful of his imminent

⁷⁶ MA U269/A518/5, 185 [239]

⁷⁷ MA U269/A525/5, 59 [15]

⁷⁸ MA U269/A525/5, 63 [16]

⁷⁹ MA U269/A525/5, 63 [16]

⁸⁰ MA U269/A525/5, 71 [18]

⁸¹ MA U269/A518/5, 185 [239]

⁸² MA U269/C276 (Bouchier correspondence)

departure to France, was anxious to secure full payment before he left the country.

This exchange is particularly interesting in relation to the testing of the organ. Continental sources provide plenty of evidence for church organs being inspected on completion by an independent expert, and there are a few accounts of a similar process in Britain, such as the famous ‘Battle of the Organs’ of 1683 in which Dallam’s successor, Renatus Harris, and Bernard Smith provided rival organs for the Temple Church in London, with the result ultimately being decided by Judge Jeffries.⁸³ This is, however, the only documented instance of this process that has so far come to light relating to a consort organ, although it may have been a common *modus operandi*, particularly where more expensive, bespoke instruments were concerned. Table 1 demonstrates that Dallam’s Tawstock organ was one of the most expensive consort instruments for which details survive, exceeding even the price paid for organs at the court both before and after the Restoration. It is understandable therefore that the earl wanted reassurance from an expert that his expensive acquisition was fit for purpose before making the final payment.

In 1646 work began on providing an organ for the London house. The court organ maker John Burward was entrusted with the task, and was paid in four installments of £5:

19 October 1646	paid the organist then in part of £20 05 0 ⁸⁴
31 October 1646	To Mr Barwood in further part of £20 for the organ ⁸⁵
9 February 1646/7	to the organist in part of £10 remained due to him 5 0 0 ⁸⁶
16 November 1647	last to the organist in full 5 0 0 ⁸⁷

Burward had previously worked on organs for Queen Henrietta Maria, and had been sworn in as a Groom of the Vestry Extraordinary in July 1626 ‘for the tuning and mending of his Majestes organs’ at court.⁸⁸ The price of this organ is more typical for a consort instrument, and is notable for being the only example of the type recorded from Burward’s workshop.

In addition to the organs, several stringed keyboard instruments are mentioned at both houses. In 1649 a ‘pair of harpsical virginals’ was bought from a Miss Baker of Barnstaple for £4,⁸⁹ and the London house was provided with a ‘harpsicon’ in 1651 for £10.⁹⁰ In July 1652 £1 7s was paid ‘for bringing the

⁸³ S. Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ* (Cambridge, 1996), 128-129; D. Knight, ‘The Battle of the Organs, the Smith Organ at the Temple and its Organist’, *BIOS Journal* 21 (1997), 76-99.

⁸⁴ MA U269/A518/5, 147 [262]

⁸⁵ MA U269/A518/1, 26 [128]

⁸⁶ MA U269/A518/5, 146 [263]

⁸⁷ MA U269/A518/5, 143 [265]

⁸⁸ Chapel Royal ‘Old’ Cheque Book f.2v transcribed in A. Ashbee and J. Harley (Eds.), *The Cheque Books of the Chapel Royal* (Aldershot, 2000), 13

⁸⁹ MA U269/A518/5, 129 [275] Large sums were frequently paid to Miss and Mrs Baker of Barnstaple over this period: they appear to have been merchants who sourced a wide variety of goods for Tawstock.

⁹⁰ MA U269/A518/3, 23 [162]

harpsichord & virginals from Exeto. [Exeter] to London'.⁹¹ Loosemore maintained the Tawstock instruments: in July 1649, for example, he was paid 12s for 'tuning and stringing the organ & harpsequall'.⁹² The overall provision of instruments was thus comprehensive, particularly at Tawstock where, in 1639, the complement included the double bass viol and the violins along with the more usual viols, together with the harp, theorbo, harpsichord and two organs for accompaniment and solo purposes (Table 2).

Table 2: Instruments from the Bouchier household

T=Tawstock, L=London

Strings			
Chest of viols	T		1638/1639 inventories
Great double bass viol	T		1639 inventory
'little viol'	T		1639 inventory
Viol with a case	T		1639 inventory
Gittern with a case	T		1639 inventory
Irish harp	T		1639 inventory
Violin	T		1639 inventory
Violin	L	16s	Bought 1640
Guitar	T	£2 5s	Bought 1640
Viol	T	£9	Bought 1641 from Tomkins
Violin	L	£3 5s	Bought 1652 from Smyth
Viol	L	£1 10s	Bought 1652 from Smith
Theorbo	L	£6	Bought 1652
Viol	L	£1 10s	Bought 1652
Wind			
Trumpet	T	45s	Bought 1642
Trumpet	L	10s	Bought 1648
Keyboard			
Claviorgan	T		1638/1639 inventories
'Fair organ'	T	'£100'	1639/1655 inventories
Organ	T	£60	Built 1641 by Robert Dallam
Organ	L	£20	Built 1646 by John Burward
Harpsichord	T	£4	Bought 1648
Harpsichord	L	£10	Bought 1651
?Organ	T	£21 5s	Built 1655 by John Loosemore

When in London, the household took advantage of the services of several professional musicians as tutors (Table 3). In 1643, a 'Mr Coleman' was paid £1 'for teaching your Ladyship' and 'to him then for viol strings 0 09 0'.⁹³ Later in the year, '2 bunches of viol strings' were supplied by him for 15s,⁹⁴ and further payments were made for three months' service in relation to Richard Cobb, the Bouchier's resident organist, at £1 per month in 1646.⁹⁵ Coleman also taught

⁹¹ MA U269/A518/5, 102 [294]

⁹² MA U269/A518/5, 124 [279]

⁹³ MA U269/A518/1, 12 [120]

⁹⁴ MA U269/A518/1, 14 [121]

⁹⁵ MA U269/A518/1, 25 [127]

the countess's servant Thomas Bold for three months tuition 'now ended' in 1643: the termination of Bold's studies was caused by the fact that he had, according to the countess, 'run away', apparently to serve the king in the Life Guards.⁹⁶ The tutor would have been Charles Coleman (d.1664), formerly a musician to Charles I and later to be composer to Charles II, or possibly his son Edward (d.1669), later to be a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal. Charles is known to have taught the guitar to members of several aristocratic families in the Interregnum, such as Lady Ann Blount, for whom he wrote works in tablature that survive in her songbook (Lla MS 1041);⁹⁷ he also taught the Greville family at Brooke House, Hackney, between 1645 and 1652, and supplied them with a guitar, book and strings.⁹⁸ In April 1652 the countess paid 'to Doct. Cholman & his son for one month apiece 4 0 0', which suggests that both Charles and Edward provided service to the Bouchier household.⁹⁹

Table 3: Music tutors to the Bouchier household

	Instrument	Dates active	Payment
Charles Coleman	Guitar, ?Viol	1643-1652	£1/month (1646) £2/month (1652)
?John Jenkins	?Viol ?Theorbo	1648-1649	£2/month
William Moullins	Voice	1650-1651	5s/10 weeks
Edward Coleman	?Voice	1652	£2/month
Stephen Bing	?Voice/Viol	1652	£3/month
Henry Lawes	?Voice/Viol	1652	£2/month

In 1648, amongst a series of payments from the countess's account book relating to mending a guitar, buying viol strings and paying for further guitar tuition, is the entry 'Will: Lynn paid to Mr Jenkins the 8th of May 2 0 0'.¹⁰⁰ 'Mr Jenkins' appeared again in the London account book in May 1649 when he received another £2 directly from the countess.¹⁰¹ The juxtaposition with the musical items may be coincidence, but it is tempting to wonder if this was indeed John Jenkins, and that Rachel Bouchier was one of his aristocratic pupils. Andrew Ashbee has shown that Jenkins spent some time in the 1640s working for the L'Estrange family at Hunstanton Hall, Norfolk, but the date of his departure from their household is not known.¹⁰² Perhaps these entries show that Jenkins was back in London by May 1648. The name of the copyist Stephen Bing appeared in the London house accounts in 1652; he was paid £2 6d for an unspecified reason in April of that year,¹⁰³ and on 14th May payment was made 'to Mr Binge for books & one month's teaching 3 0 0'.¹⁰⁴ He was listed in Playford's 'Musical Banquet' of 1651 as one of the 'excellent and able masters for the Voyce or Viole', and these entries provide further evidence that he spent the Interregnum teaching prior to his appointment as a Senior Cardinal at St

⁹⁶ MA U269/A518/1, 10 [119] and MA U269/C267/17 (Bouchier correspondence)

⁹⁷ C. Page, *The Guitar in Stuart England* (Cambridge, 2017), 43-44

⁹⁸ Ibid. 41

⁹⁹ MA U269/A518/5, 103 [293]

¹⁰⁰ MA U269/A518/5, 126 [277]

¹⁰¹ MA U269/A518/2, 30 [147]

¹⁰² A. Ashbee, *The Harmonious Musick of John Jenkins Vol. 1* (Toccata Press, 1992), 44-62

¹⁰³ MA U269/A518/5, 103 [293]

¹⁰⁴ ibid. [294]

Paul's Cathedral at the Restoration.¹⁰⁵ Given Bing's reputation as a copyist, we may suppose that the 'books' were instrumental part-books that he prepared for the household. Also in 1652, in the midst of numerous purchases of everyday items for the London house, is an entry recording 'to Mr Lawes for teaching Betty Pagget one month 2 0 0'.¹⁰⁶ Henry Lawes headed the list of Playford's 'able masters' and is known to have supplemented his income by tutoring in several aristocratic households during the Interregnum.¹⁰⁷

At Tawstock, access to visiting tutors was less easy, but the countess's account book recorded several references to a singing teacher:

12 June 1650	to Moulines for teaching Tho: Hathorn to sing 10 weeks 0 5 0 ¹⁰⁸
1 January 1650/1	to Moulines the 1 of Jan. 0 5 0 ¹⁰⁹
29 December 1651	to Moullins ¹¹⁰

The will of William Bouchier, 3rd Earl of Bath, left £20 to 'William Mollins, singing boy' in 1623;¹¹¹ although he was not a full-time member of the Tawstock household in 1650, it seems that this could be the same Mollins, his name now fashionably restyled a la mode Française. In seeking to make a living during the fallow years of the Interregnum, the employment of households such as the Bouchiers was a vital source of income for many professional musicians. It is interesting, though, to compare the typical monthly fee of £2 of the London men with the 5s the provincial Moullins was able to command for ten weeks of singing tuition. Given that the Bouchiers were not their only source of employment, it would seem that, though times were hard for many of the ex-court musicians, a few at least were able to make a reasonable living from private teaching.

The name of only one professional resident musician appears in the household papers: his appointment was recorded when the countess's account book noted that 'Cobb the Organist came the beginning of Sept. 1641 is to have by the year 14 0 0'.¹¹² Another, later entry states that Cobb's first name was Richard. Several musical Cobbs are known to have been active in the 1640s, but some confusion has surrounded their identities that might now be clarified. The most distinguished musical Cobb was John, organist, composer and onetime household musician to Archbishop Laud, who also served as a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal from 1638-1642.¹¹³ This was the Cobb to whom Laud left 'my

¹⁰⁵ S. Boyer and J. Wainwright, 'From Barnard to Purcell: The Copying Activities of Stephen Bing' *Early Music* 23:4 (1995), 628

¹⁰⁶ MA U269/A518/5, 102 [294]

¹⁰⁷ It is not clear who Betty was. She may have been the daughter of William Paget, a steward who looked after the Bouchiers' estates beyond Tawstock. She should probably not be confused with Betty, daughter of Sir William Paget, who was bought a 'Little Guitarre' by her father for £2 in 1650 and was taught in London by a 'Mr. Colmar' (Coleman?). Page, *The Guitar in Stuart England*, 42

¹⁰⁸ MA U269/A518/5, 116 [283-4]

¹⁰⁹ MA U269/A518/5, 113 [285]

¹¹⁰ MA U269/A518/5, 105 [292]

¹¹¹ Lna PROB 11/142/93 (Will of William Bouchier, 3rd Earl of Bath)

¹¹² MA U269/A518/5, 202 [237]

¹¹³ A. Ashbee and D. Lasocki, *A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians 1485-1714 Vol I*, (Aldershot, 1998), 265

Organ that is at Croydon, my Harp, my Chest of Viols, and the Harpsichon that is at Lambeth' in his will of 1644.¹¹⁴ Laud had another servant, named Richard Cobb, who has previously been tentatively connected with the otherwise unidentified composer Richard Cobb who wrote the Suite in C found in Playford's 'Court-Ayres' (1655) and consort works in Ob MS Mus. Sch. C.44 and C.102.¹¹⁵ As Andrew Woolley's research has shown, however, there is nothing to suggest that Laud's servant Richard Cobb was at all musical. Although he may well have been related to the musical Cobbs, it seems very unlikely that he was the composer, and his dates of service to Laud prove that he was not the Tawstock organist.¹¹⁶ Instead, it seems more plausible that Richard Cobb, Henry Bouchier's household organist, was also Richard Cobb the composer, and that he was probably the brother of John Cobb (that the Tawstock Richard Cobb had a musical brother is demonstrated by the payment for the composing card discussed above).¹¹⁷ Richard and John Cobb were approximate contemporaries, were both organists and composers, and both saw service in prestigious domestic musical establishments, so a familial relationship seems very likely.¹¹⁸

The accounts for both Tawstock and the London house include many payments to Richard Cobb for sundry musical items, such as:

7 December 1649	To Mr Cobb to pay for viol strings 00 15 0 ¹¹⁹
8 December 1651	To Mr Cobb for a harpsicon 10 00 00 ¹²⁰

It is also interesting to find a payment in the London accounts to Coleman in relation to Cobb:

August 1646	To Mr Coleman for Mr Cobb for 3 months 03 00 0 ¹²¹
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¹¹⁴ W. Laud, *The History of the Troubles and Tryal of ... Archbishop Laud* (London, 1645), 455

¹¹⁵ A. Woolley, 'Cobb, Richard' *GMO* <<https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.2293451>> (accessed 22 February 2019). See also A. Woolley, *English Keyboard Sources and their Contexts, c.1660-1720* Ph.D. thesis, (University of Leeds, 2008), 160-162

¹¹⁶ Woolley discovered that the inventory taken at the Winchester home of Richard Cobb, Laud's servant, on his death in 1655 contained no mention of musical instruments or any books.

¹¹⁷ Richard Cobb was mistaken for John in several nineteenth-century reference works, in which he was described as organist to Charles I: see, for example, J. Brown and S. Stratton, *British Musical Biography* (Birmingham, 1897), 95. John Cobb's keyboard works are published in A. Woolley (Ed.), *English Keyboard Music 1650-1695: Perspectives on Purcell* (Purcell Society Edition Companion Series Vol. 6 (London, 2018)

¹¹⁸ John Cobb was sworn in as a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal in July 1638 at which point, as Ashbee points out, he was already highly regarded and probably in the service of Laud. If we assume that he must have been at least 20 years old by this point, his date of birth is unlikely to have been later than c1618. Richard Cobb, similarly, was seemingly an established adult musician when he arrived at Tawstock in 1641, and by the same reckoning was therefore probably born no later than c1621. Ashbee believes John Cobb was dead by the time of the Restoration; Richard was still alive at the time of Henry Bouchier's funeral in 1654, and, if he fulfilled his three score years and ten, could have lived as late as c1690.

¹¹⁹ MA U269/A518/2, 26 [145]

¹²⁰ MA U269/A518/3, 23 [162]

¹²¹ MA U269/A518/1, 25 [127]

Comparison with the fees for tuition quoted above suggests that Cobb received three months' instruction from Coleman. Given that Charles Coleman seems to have sourced much of the music for Playford's 'Court-Ayres', this connection may account for the presence of Richard Cobb's Suite in C in the collection and thus strengthens the case for identifying the earl's organist as the composer.¹²² In addition to playing the organ, Cobb subscribed to the *alamode* fashion of learning the guitar whilst in London, and it is possible that this is what Coleman was teaching him:

24 April 1649 for mending the guitar 0 4 0; ... to Mr
[blank] for teaching Cob on the guitar one
month 1 0 0

The accounts for the 1650s show that, in addition to his musical duties, Cobb was also responsible for the procurement of a wide range of items for the newly-rented London household, and that he was entrusted with large sums of money to pay various creditors of the estate both in London and Tawstock. This variety of responsibility was not unusual for resident musicians in aristocratic households at this time: John Hingeston, for example, was also Yeoman of the Cellar to the Cliffords at Skipton Castle from 1621-1645, whilst George Jeffreys also undertook the important role of steward for the Hattons. Despite being what we would nowadays regard as a trained professional, Cobb's wage of £14 per annum was middle ranking among those of the household. By comparison, the steward was paid £20, the head cook £16, the gentleman usher £10, a gardener £6 and the brewer £5. The wages of domestic organists elsewhere varied considerably: Richard Mico was paid £20 per annum during his service at Thorndon Hall in the 1620s, whilst Henry Loosemore (the brother of John) was paid just £8 by Dudley, Lord North at Kirtling Hall (1652-1658). Loosemore's was, however, only a part-time role and he augmented his income elsewhere. Although additional benefits often included board, lodging and a livery, domestic organist posts paid much less than court appointments, such as the £120 per annum that Mico went on to receive as organist at the court of Queen Henrietta Maria from 1630.

Cobb is the only servant mentioned in the Tawstock papers specifically as a musician. Whilst some of the largest households were able to employ a full consort of professionals before the outbreak of war, it was more usual for households of this size and status to appoint one or two professional musicians, with the remaining members of instrumental or vocal consorts being drawn from members of the family, and often also from the servant body.¹²³ As well as playing himself, Cobb's role would have included organizing the musical resources of the household, hiring external musicians, acquiring, arranging and composing music, buying and maintaining instruments, and probably teaching too. As the organist in a household of mainly amateur players, Cobb would have been mindful of the role described by Thomas Mace whereby 'the *Organ* stands us in stead of a *Holding, Uniting-Constant-Friend*; and is as a *Touch-stone*, to try the

¹²² Coleman's role is discussed in J. Cunningham, 'A Meeting of Amateur and Professional: Playford's 'Compendious Collection' of Two-Part Aires, Court-Ayres (1655)' *Concepts of Creativity in Seventeenth-Century England* ed. R. Herrisone and A. Howard (Woodbridge, 2013), 219-220

¹²³ For descriptions of this practice in the North household at Kirtling, see J. Wilson, *Roger North on Music* (London, 1959), 10-11

certainty of *All Things*; especially the *Well-keeping the Instruments in Tune &c.*¹²⁴ This would also have involved actively directing the music from the organ: as Roger North noted, ‘in solemn consorts, it would scarce be possible to proceed without some one director of the time; who is comonly the composer or some that knows the composition, and with a proper agency of the hand shews not onely the gross down and up strokes, but the very subdivisions also.’¹²⁵ In this regard, he would have had the delicate job of managing the interaction between members of the household consort who represented different social classes, genders, ages and musical ability, and, in taking the role of a musical director, he would have had to navigate the difficult waters of assuming a temporary musical authority over his employers and superiors. Apart from Cobb, and possibly the four occupants of the musicians’ chamber, ten members of the household are recorded as being musicians (Table 4):

Table 4: Musicians within the Bouchier household

L=London, T=Tawstock

			Instrument(s)	Period active	Tutor
Rachel Bouchier, <i>Countess of Bath</i>	T L		Viol, violin	1638-1654	Coleman, Bing, ?Jenkins
Elizabeth Bouchier <i>Relative</i>	T		Guitar	1638-1640	
William Ellis <i>Bailiff</i>	T		Trumpet	1638-1647	
Mr Walker <i>Steward</i>	T		Violin	1639-1651	
Thomas Bold <i>Servant</i>	T		?	1641-1643	Coleman
Richard Cobb <i>Resident musician</i>	T L		Organ, guitar	1641-1654	Coleman
Peyton Randall <i>Boy servant</i>	L		Viol	1643-1654	
Mr Cope <i>?Gentleman</i>	L		Trumpet	1648	
Thomas Hathorn <i>Servant</i>	T		Voice	1649-1654	Moullins
Betty Paget <i>?Servant</i>	L		?Guitar ?Voice	1650-1652	Coleman, Lawes
Miss Edney <i>Servant</i>	T		Viol	1652	

They cover a wide range of social status from the countess and her aristocratic companions down through the more senior household officials (Walker, Ellis) to lower-status servants such as Randall, Bold and Hathorn. Rachel Bouchier’s playing of the violin is particularly noteworthy: like the organ, it was, even in the 1650s, still widely considered to be an instrument for professional musicians and thus not suitable for the nobility, let alone a noble woman. Nevertheless, the rapid rise in status of the violin from an ‘Instrument only belonging to a common Fidler’ to the respectability that enabled it to be played by a countess

¹²⁴ Mace, *Musick’s Monument*, 242

¹²⁵ Wilson, *Roger North*, 105

was largely brought about through its use by the ensembles that employed it at court during the early years of the 5th earl's tenure, and once again demonstrates the Bouchiers' awareness of contemporary developments in London.¹²⁶

If we accept that Cobb was also Richard Cobb the composer, then we find that his extant compositions are melodious, undemanding and well suited to an amateur playing context. The Suite in C (Ayre-Coranto-Sarabande-Jigge) for treble and bass found in Playford's 'Court-Ayres' is clearly not the work of a master composer, but there is some pleasing dialogue between treble and bass in the Ayre, and the Sarabande makes distinctive use of a repeated three-note motif at the end of each phrase (Example 1).



Example 1: Richard Cobb: Sarabande from Suite in C bb.1-4 (J. Playford, *Court-Ayres* (London, 1655), No. 141)

The Jigge is a sprightly work with more than a hint of Caledonian abandon about it (Example 2).



Example 2: Richard Cobb: Jigge from Suite in C bb.1-8 (J. Playford, *Court-Ayres* (London, 1655), No. 142)

The treble and bass texture of the Playford collection is ideally suited to expansion, either by the addition of inner parts or the improvisation of a continuo part on keyboard or theorbo. Both practices were frequently employed in professional contexts such as masque music and works for the Lutes, Viols and Voices at court, and this approach would have been equally useful in domestic contexts where the number and type of instrumental resources was variable.¹²⁷ It was in this kind of instance that the skills of a resident professional like Cobb would have proven especially useful. Seventeenth-century professional organists were trained in improvising both chordal and polyphonic textures upon an unfigured bass, and this skill was also put to good use in filling

¹²⁶ N. Kiessling (Ed.), *The Life of Anthony Wood in His Own Words* (Oxford, 2009), 47-48

¹²⁷ As an example, see the discussion of this practice in the works of Simon Ives in P. Holman and J. Cunningham (Eds.), *Simon Ives: The Four Part Dances* (Bicester, 2008), v-vii

out the sparse treble-and-bass organ parts provided for many mid-century consort works.¹²⁸ It is this emphasis on professional skills (of which this was but one of several particularly required of the consort organist) that accounts for the lack of any detailed English treatise on organ playing prior to the late eighteenth century.¹²⁹ Whereas amateur players of the viol, lute and flute were well served by published tutors for their instrument, the organ was mostly played by apprenticed professionals, even in domestic contexts, who learned their art from each other. Amateur organists such as Roger North, who regularly practised the ‘miraculous art, brought entirely by the twice five digits of a single person, sitting at his ease before the mighty machine’, were very much the exception.¹³⁰ It might seem surprising that the owners of organs would not play the instruments themselves, but the situation was perhaps comparable to that of the pioneering aristocratic owners of automobiles in the early twentieth century, who were content to leave the actual driving of their expensive machines to professional chauffeurs.

A Pavane and Almaine for two violins and bass by Cobb also survive in Ob MS Mus. Sch. C.44, with the bass part duplicated in Ob MS Mus. Sch. C.102. The C.44 version was copied by Edward Lowe at the Oxford Music School at some point between 1661 and 1682, and formed part of an unconnected series of loose papers that were bound together in 1885. The C.102 version was also copied by Lowe before 1667. These sources demonstrate that Cobb’s music had some life beyond the confines of Tawstock and Lincoln’s Inn Fields. Like his brother, John, Richard Cobb seems also to have been a composer for the keyboard. A pair of manuscripts once owned by Henry Gauntlett in the early nineteenth century were described in a Sotheby’s sale catalogue of 1917 as consisting of ‘Compositions of early English musicians, including Richard Cobb, Tho. Morley, R. Price etc; English and Italian Fantasias for the organ etc.’. These volumes found their way to the Nanki Music Library in Tokyo, but, regrettably, have since gone missing, probably in the 1930s.¹³¹

In summarizing the foregoing information, it is immediately apparent that the musical household that Cobb oversaw was both extensive and well resourced. Tawstock was the main focus of the consort playing: instruments appeared in the London accounts, but most of those were bought there and cannot conclusively be proven to have been used there, except perhaps in the case of those individuals being taught by the London tutors. In any case, the Lincoln’s Inn Fields house was sub-let shortly after it was first rented in 1641, and during the Civil Wars the earl and a skeleton staff retained only a few chambers for their occasional use. This was the time when, as Roger North put it, ‘many chose rather to fiddle at home, than to goe out, and be knockt on the head abroad,’ and ‘home’ for the Bouchiers was very much Tawstock rather than London.¹³² It was not until the relative calm of the early 1650s that the London house was

¹²⁸ See Force, *The Organ in Seventeenth-Century English Domestic Music*, 151-156

¹²⁹ The first to tackle the subject in any great detail was J. Marsh, *Eighteen Voluntaries for the Organ... To which is prefix’d an Explanation of the Different Stops* (London, 1791)

¹³⁰ Wilson, *Roger North*, 135

¹³¹ A. Wooley ‘The Harpsichord Music of Richard Ayleward (?1626-1669), “an Excellent Organist” of the Commonwealth and Early Restoration’ *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* 15:1 (2009), 2.1-2.2

¹³² Wilson, *Roger North*, 294

used more extensively, which coincides with the main period of activity of the music tutors there and the flurry of instrumental purchases made at the same time. The Bouchiers ensured that Tawstock was comprehensively stocked with instruments from the time of their marriage in 1639. The presence of the violin, the double bass viol and the consort organs shows that, although they were far-flung from the court in rural Devon, they were as aware of recent musical developments in London as any family in the close geographical orbit of the capital. Indeed, several other aspects of the evidence demonstrate the Bouchiers' desire to emulate court practices. The purchase of instruments from suppliers to the king was one; another was the provision of the livery coats for the violinists, which raised them above the status of a typical provincial band. The royal trumpeters and drummers hired for special occasions in London brought an element of court pomp that was echoed by the household trumpets in London and Tawstock. The overall provision of both consort and ceremonial music reflected closely, if on a smaller scale, the physical deployment of music in the royal households. The consort organs, themselves an instrument closely identified with courtly practice, were employed in the public entertaining spaces at Tawstock (the Great Chamber and Dining Room), but also mirrored the arrangements of the king's Privy Gallery in their appearance in the private family apartments (the Parlour and chambers). The employment of court musicians as tutors in London also fed into the ethos by tapping directly into the networks that enabled music and ideas to be disseminated from the court to provincial households during the Interregnum.

Binding all these elements together is the figure of the Bouchiers' resident organist, Richard Cobb. He was fortunate in having such actively pro-musical employers who provided him with the resources to maintain such a vibrant musical agenda. He typifies the adaptability required of those musicians who were the sole professionals in a musically active household: organist, composer, guitarist and possibly also violist, he would have utilized a wide range of practical musical skills as well as performing duties that extended into non-musical areas of daily life. It would be interesting to know if references to Cobb remain yet to be discovered elsewhere to shed light on his life before Tawstock, or indeed on his fate afterwards. On the death of Henry Bouchier in 1654, the accounts record that Cobb was paid £20 for a year's wages and a legacy of £40, and there his story currently ends. Rachel Bouchier's subsequent life was an unhappy one: she was unfortunate to choose such an unsympathetic second husband as Lionel Cranfield, who put an end to her musical activity by selling off 'all her plate, most of the household stuff, and all of Lord Bath's library: all goes in play and rioting'.¹³³ Despite this, posterity must be grateful to him for his zealous preservation of her papers for, without these, we would not have access to such an illuminating insight into the musical activity of this mid-seventeenth-century provincial aristocratic household.

¹³³ Letter from Rachell Newport to Richard Levenson, July 13 1658: *Fifth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts* (London, 1876), 145

The Villeneuve Manuscripts: a New Approach to Marin Marais

Jonathan Dunford and François-Pierre Goy

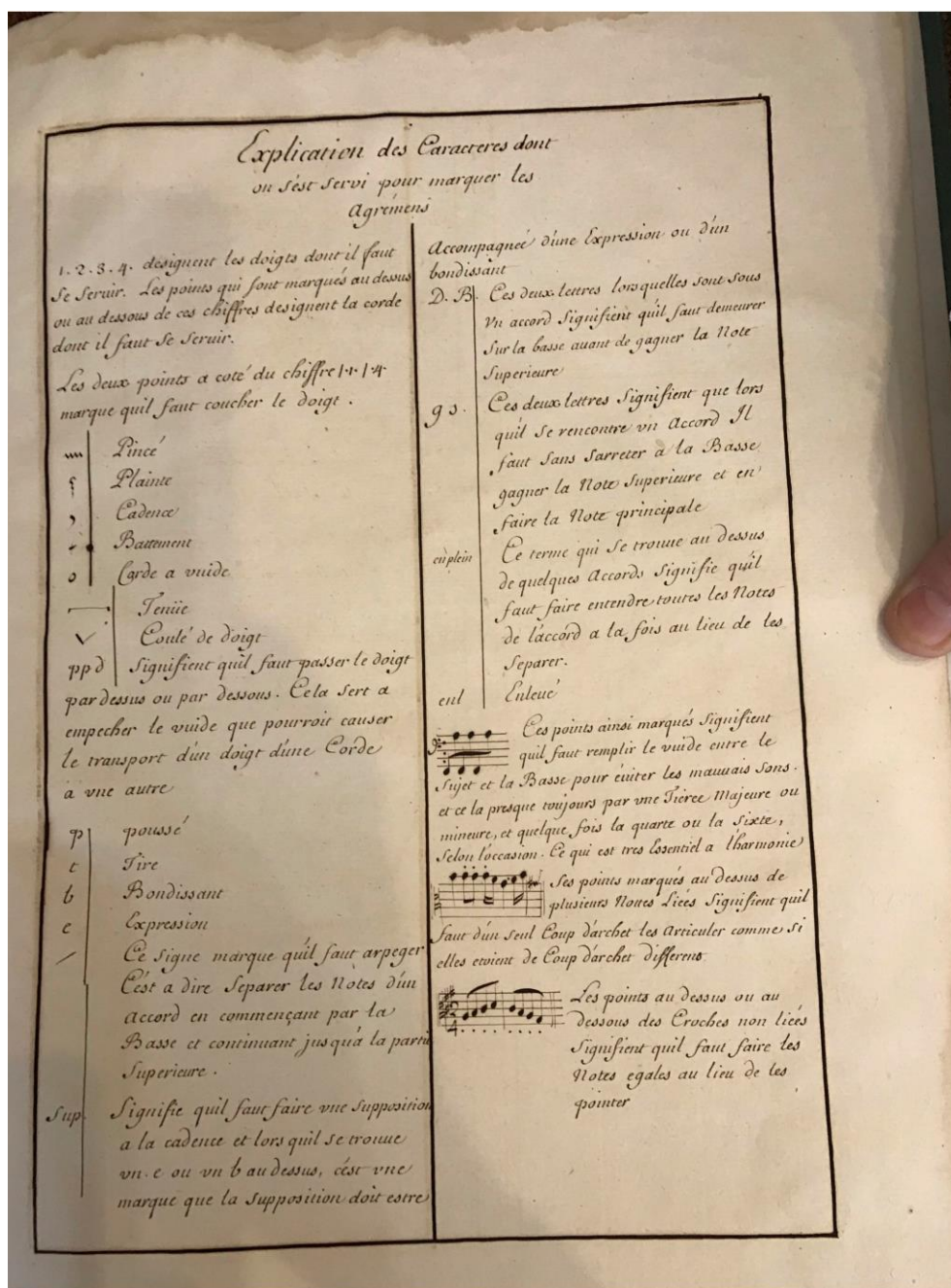
The acquisition (JD)

In April of 2018 I was alerted by a friend, Xavier Bonnet, the celebrated art historian, restorer of castles (including the White House), as well as a gifted upholsterer specializing in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, to a public sale at the Drouot auction house in Paris. This sale included a book of Marin Marais' viol music which was up for sale side by side with over 200 other items including autograph manuscripts.¹ We were able to consult the volume the very next day, and according to the auctioneer 'nobody was interested in and therefore [he] put a nominative price of 400 euros on it'. It was very largescale, heavy and difficult to handle, the size of eighteenth-century legal books and decorated with gold leaf. It contained 346 pages of Marais' viola da gamba music with extracts from all five books, copied by a punctilious hand with exquisite calligraphy. The volume included an alphabetical table showing where each piece occurred in Marais' original printed books and another one which explained the various ornaments, and symbols present as well as other terms.

It is rather common to find many compilations of Marais' viol music either put together during his lifetime or even well into the next generation. What was unique about the present manuscript besides its sheer beauty was its physical size (about 42.5 x 28.5 cm), which seems to indicate it was contrived for something other than for actual performance. The very diligent hand copied out 203 pieces in score form. The calligraphy is up to par with Marais' own printed editions. Marais, unlike his contemporaries such as Forqueray or Morel, published his music in partbooks, one for the solo part and the other for the figured bass. So this book, with the unfigured continuo line written out directly under the solo viol part, was already unusual.

Furthermore, the copyist had taken great pains to copy in all of the ornaments and fingerings that were published in Marais' original five books. This even included great care to place the letter 'e' in the correct place over the note, that is at the beginning, in the middle or at the end. This 'e' Marais explains in his preface to Book III in 1711 is necessary to play the pieces with the taste that he conceived them. It indicates a 'swell' or 'expression' and Marais takes great lengths to place it exactly on which part of the note it is to occur. In the manuscript at hand, totally unexpectedly for a collection of 'the Best of Marais' compiled after his death, the copyist took what is seemingly his own initiative and added even more terms and performance instructions both for the left hand and the bow. This initiative was elegantly explained and laid out in the table at the end of the book.

¹ Oger-Blanchet, *Autographes, Livres Anciens et Modernes*, Mercredi 04 Avril 2018 13:30, <<http://www.ogerblanchet.fr/html/index.jsp?id=90850>> (accessed 21 September 2020), item no. 206.



I had decided on the spot at the auction house to do my best to keep the book in France as the eighteenth-century terminology was rather obscure even for French native speakers. The book was acquired by the French Viola da Gamba Society, where Christophe Coin is the sitting President.

We had a difficult time to locate the correct place to digitize this very unwieldy book from the eighteenth century, which was impossible to lie flat on a scanner. Finally, after a year of interviewing various institutions the book was acquired by the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris. They both had the capacity to scan as well as store such a precious and massive book.

Marin Marais -Brilliant Court Violist and Composer (JD)

Marin Marais (1656–1728) besides being Louis XIV's court musician, was a prolific composer. He composed both operas, certain of which were very successful, instrumental music and some (lost) religious vocal music. As a viol player he published the above mentioned five books which include some of the

most interesting and beautiful music for the viol. These five books also are chock full of performance instructions both for the left hand as well as the bow hand. They are a gold mine for viol players and are as relevant to teaching a musician good technique on the viol nowadays as they were when originally printed in the late seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century. Marais, more so than any other French composer took great care to notate how each note was to be performed. Each successive publication reveals consecutive as well as intricate detail on how to use the bow, the left hand and ornament music on the viol.

Besides the printed books, we are fortunate to have manuscript pieces by Marais copied by the master himself when he was a young man, for Scottish noblemen visiting Paris (James and his brother Harie Maule). These three manuscripts (two are Marais' own hand) are now housed at the National Library of Scotland.² They include 47 pieces that Marais decided for one reason or another never to publish. Even as a young man Marais was already very conscious of supplying detailed instructions for the player such as bowings, ornaments and fingerings to his hand-copied music. This predilection for precision is also manifest in the portrait of Marais, painted by his friend Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean and exhibited at the castle in Blois (France). The artist took great pains to paint in all the fingerings and ornaments in the score that Marais indicates with his bow-tip in the small picture.³ As Marais was an international celebrity, his music found his way into libraries and private collections all over Europe during his lifetime. As a teacher Marais had many pupils, such as Jacques Morel, who even dedicate their own publications for the bass viol to him. His son Roland followed in his father's footsteps at the court and continued to publish music for the viol after Marin's passing.

Investigating the Manuscript's History (FPG)

Before the manuscript could be digitized by the Library, it had to be shelfmarked and catalogued. It received the shelfmark *Gf. Rés. Vma ms. 94*.⁴ As regards the bibliographic description, no detailed inventory of the contents is provided at the moment, due to the necessity of sending the volume without delay to the photographic workshop. It proved otherwise fairly unproblematic, save for the usual difficulty with undated manuscripts, being to date them as precisely as possible. We will come back to this question later.

A flyleaf bears the mention '*Ex Libris Armandi Josephi Delaistre*', in a black ink obviously different from that used by the copyist. A quick search in the genealogical website *Geneanet* helped to identify him. Armand Joseph Delaistre or de Laistre was born in Paris on 10 January 1726. He married the much younger Jeanne Armande Éléonore Chasteigner (1752–1803) in Bonnes (Vienne department), the bride's parish, on 15 October 1770.⁵ His signature on his

² GB-En MS 9465 (not autograph), MS 9466 and MS 9467 (autograph). See S. Cheney, 'Early Autograph Manuscripts of Marin Marais', *Early Music*, 38, No. 1 (February 2010), 59–72.

³ J. Dunford, *Recherche sur un nouveau tableau de Marin Marais comme jeune homme*, <<https://a2violes.wordpress.com/2013/08/02/recherche-sur-un-nouveau-tableau-de-marin-marais-comme-jeune-homme/>> (accessed 5 September 2020).

⁴ Nothing of this lengthy shelfmark must be omitted when quoting it, as totally unrelated documents shelfmarked *Rés. Vma ms. 94*, *Vma ms. 94*, *Rés. Vma 94*, *Rés. 94* and *Vma. 94* actually exist. The corresponding bibliographic record may be consulted at <<https://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb465002790>> (accessed 5 September 2020).

⁵ F-Pap V3E/N 656 (baptism record); Poitiers, Archives Départementales de la Vienne (hereafter F-POad), collection communale 480, fol. 219r <<https://archives-deux-sevres-vienne.fr/ark:/28387/vtaed26c76c0683149d/daogrp/0/97>>, and 9 E 39/1/4, fols. [60v–61r]

marriage record, where he is styled ‘Chevalier, comte de Fontenay, seigneur de Chamgoubert et autres lieux, conseiller du Roi en tous ses conseils et secrétaire ordinaire du Conseil d’État’, closely matches the ex-libris. After the storming of the Tuileries by the insurgents on 10 August 1792, he and his brother-in-law Jean-René-Henri Chasteigner were sent to Montargis. Unlike the latter, Delaistre escaped the guillotine.⁶ He died in Poitiers on 16 Floréal an IX, that is 6 May 1801 according to the Republican calendar in use from 1793 to 1805.⁷ An inheritance statement was deposited on 9 Brumaire an X (31 October 1801) by his children, to whom he left estates and personal property valued at 17,160 francs. On 22 Messidor an XI (11 July 1803), the inheritance of his widow, consisting in a *métairie* in Jaunay (a village now integrated in the municipality of Jaunay-Marigny) and personal property, was valued as 17,960 francs.⁸ Delaistre’s ex-libris also appears in the same form ‘ex libris Armandi Joseph Delaistre’ in a margin of the *Avertissement* on a copy of Marais’ second book (1701), now held by the Sibley Music Library at Rochester. Its missing title page has been replaced by a photocopy of an unrelated copy from the Paris Conservatoire Library.⁹ Some pieces in this copy are provided with manuscript performance markings, which Jonathan Dunford will comment on below.¹⁰

As Delaistre had obviously only owned the book, who could have copied it? I assumed that a copyist able to produce such a magnificent piece could well have left more than one manuscript. On the other hand, I thought likely that nobody but a viol player would have used such unusually detailed performance marks. This prompted me to have a look at our other eighteenth-century viol manuscripts. And when I opened Vm⁷ 6275, lo! It had the same hand, the same composer, the same signs and abundance of performance marks, the same kind of table with a column devoted to the number of the printed book from which the pieces were taken. Moreover, the volume bore a very informative title: *Pieces*

<<https://archives-deux-sevres-vienne.fr/ark:/28387/vta436053452c334055/daogrp/0/61>>. His wife was born in Bonnes on 29 October 1752 and died in Poitiers on 7 Pluviôse An XI (27 January 1803): see Clabault, *Généalogie Historique de la Maison de Chasteigner en Poitou* (Paris, 1779), 114 and F-POad 9 E 229/110/1, fol. 48v <<https://archives-deux-sevres-vienne.fr/ark:/28387/vta04cf30e7a3eade8f/daogrp/0/40>> (death record). All records accessed 5 September 2020.

⁶ *Le Mercure Universel*, 26 March 1793, 404 <<https://www.retronews.fr/journal/mercure-universel/26-mars-1793/431/1509331/4>> (accessed 5 September 2020). For Jean-René-Henri Chasteigner (1746–1794), see J. Salvini and abbé Longer, ‘Le Château de Touffou’, *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l’Ouest et des Musées de Poitiers*, 4th series, 7 (1963), 89–137, especially 106–109.

⁷ F-POad 9 E 229/104, fols. 87v–88r <<https://archives-deux-sevres-vienne.fr/ark:/28387/vta78a3fb511173a263/daogrp/0/89>> (accessed 5 September 2020).

⁸ Data from the table of successions: F-POad 3 Q 3331, ff. 36v–37r <<https://archives-deux-sevres-vienne.fr/ark:/28387/vta05d3c692da98110e/daogrp/0/29>> and 26v–27r <<https://archives-deux-sevres-vienne.fr/ark:/28387/vta05d3c692da98110e/daogrp/0/25>> (accessed 12 September 2020). The inheritance statements themselves (3 Q 3275 and 3 Q 3277) were not consulted.

⁹ US-R M286 .M299.2 <<http://hdl.handle.net/1802/12396>> (accessed 12 September 2020). It was purchased in October 1947 from the antiquarian bookseller Otto Haas, London, and is described in the latter’s catalogue No. 25. I am grateful to Gail Lowther, Special Collections Assistant, Sibley Music Library, for providing this information (e-mails to the author, 2 March and 8 September 2020). The photocopy is from F-Pc Rés. 758, which has since (1983) been exchanged with the antiquarian bookseller H. Baron, London.

¹⁰ They have previously been studied by Mary Elliott, *Technique and Style in the performance of Marais: An Examination of Eighteenth-Century Handwritten Markings in Livre IIème* (M.A. thesis, Stanford University, 1979).

de viole Ajustées pour le Pardessus de Viole a cinq cordes Par M^r de Villeneuve 1759, and it contained like the new manuscript the unpublished *La Siamoise*.

Vm⁷ 6275 had previously been investigated by Hazelle Miloradovitch,¹¹ whose article described yet another manuscript in the same hand (Vm⁷ 1107, titled *Trio de Corelli Et Pieces de Marais a deux et trois Violes. En Partition 1762*).

Miloradovitch furthermore identified ‘Mr de Villeneuve’ as the owner of a copy of the solo part of Marais’ fifth book bearing an armorial ‘Ex libris Joannis Petri de Villeneuve’.¹² She surmised him to have been ‘an aristocratic amateur, not a professional performer’, though ‘a player of great accomplishment’. A right guess, as his coat of arms corresponds to that of Jean-Pierre Guignace de Villeneuve.¹³ Baptized in Paris on 8 November 1706, he became an advocate in Parliament and was knighted in 1729 after having bought a charge of councillor in the Great Council. When he married Anne Le Maistre on 18 November 1737, his library was valued 10.000 *livres*. This marriage brought him estates near Montargis, including the castle of Villoseau at Chevillon-sur-Huillard. After her death, two separate inventories of the properties of their marital community were made, the one for their Parisian house, the other for the castle of Villoseau.¹⁴ In Villoseau were found

[...] Dans le cabinet dudit sieur de Villeneuve, sur la cour

[...] Plus deux violes, chacune dans son étuy de bois de sapin noirci. Estimées ensemble à la somme de trente deux livres

[In the cabinet of the said sieur de Villeneuve *sur la cour*

[...] Item two viols, each in its case of blackened pine wood.
Valued together to the sum of thirty two *livres*]

These two viols would have been suitable to play from the new Marais manuscript! In the same room were summarily listed the contents of the bookshelves, but the few titles mentioned (one at a shelf, as often in such inventories) make doubtful that any music would have been kept there permanently.

Villeneuve resigned from Parliament in April 1771, due to political disagreements, and retired to Villoseau castle, where he died on 7 September of the same year. He was buried on the next day in the churchyard of Chevillon, leaving several children.¹⁵ His library was auctioned in Paris from 7 to 10 January 1772. It included numerous books about legal and religious matters, most of the latter by Jansenist writers, as one could expect from a member of Parliament. As regards literature, Villeneuve appears to have preferred classical authors, reading the Latin both in the original language and in French, but the Greeks mainly in

¹¹ H. Miloradovitch, ‘Eighteenth-Century Manuscript Transcriptions for Viols of Music by Corelli and Marais in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris: Sonatas and Pièces de Viole’, *Chelys*, xii (1985), 47–73, at 55–66.

¹² F-Pn Rés. 764. It does not bear any added performance mark.

¹³ D’azur, parti d’un trait: à dextre un arbre terrassé d’or: à senestre un rocher de six coupeaux d’argent: au chef parti d’argent chargé de six tourteaux de gueules’.

¹⁴ F-Pan MC/ET/CXII/562, 22 August 1753 and F-Oad 3 E 19687, 17 September 1753. The reference of the Parisian inventory was found out too late for it being consulted, due to the closing of the reading room of the Archives nationales first for repair, then because of the lockdown.

¹⁵ This biography is summarized after Ph. de Vaumas, *Familles Orléanaises: Essai Généalogique. Première Série Complétée* (Versailles, 2014), 51 and 69–70, supplemented by Villeneuve’s burial record: F-Oad, 335 O SUPPL/GG 10 (digitized as 3 NUM 92/10), 1771, fols. 6v–7r.

translation, while French writers are mainly represented by a few seventeenth-century poets. He also was interested in history, mainly of the Middle Ages, and mathematics. But the laconic description of his music books – ‘Livres de musique, pour la viole, &c.’ – leaves us to wonder how many they may have been. In any case, they were all sold on 7 January as one single item for 6 *livres*, thus for the same price as for instance the works by Vincent Voiture in two duodecimo volumes (Amsterdam, 1709), Plautus’ comedies in two octavo volumes (Leyden, 1668), Nicolas Bion’s *Usage des globes célestes et terrestres et des sphères* (Paris, 1717), or Blaise Pascal’s *Provinciales* in Pierre Nicole’s Latin translation (Cologne, 1658).¹⁶ It is thus impossible to say if these ‘music books for the viol’ are the same as the four volumes now in F-Pn, and if the large Marais manuscript was acquired by Delaistre on this occasion.

To judge by the two surviving music books bearing his *ex-libris*, the latter might have resisted the vogue of the pardessus de viole and remained one of the last faithful French players of the bass viol. Others did the same. Six years after the Villeneuve auction, the inventory after death of Pierre-Jacques Duplat de Monticourt (1708–1778), the librettist of Jean-Philippe Rameau’s *Les Paladins* and an almost exact contemporary of Villeneuve’s, mentions (as regards music) a music stand, a bass viol, and 53 folio and quarto music books, which however may not have included any viol music.¹⁷ In 1771, Claude-Jean Rigoley, baron d’Ogny (1725–1798) received a roll of music from Carl Friedrich Abel and asked him to find him ‘an excellent bass viol’ which he was ready to pay well if it could be found in England. However, he played more modern music than Marais’, as Andreas Lidl supplied him with three manuscripts of his own music.¹⁸

A comparison of the Villeneuve manuscripts (FPG)

Beyond their common handwriting, each of Villeneuve’s three manuscripts present a number of peculiarities which distinguish it from both others.

Immediately visible is the difference of their respective dimensions. The ‘new’ bass viol book is a huge volume in upright format with 346 numbered and seven unnumbered pages, measuring about 42,5 x 28,5 cm. This size reminds of F-Pn Rés. Vma ms. 866, the manuscript containing Sainte-Colombe’s 67 *Concerts à deux violes esgales* as well as excerpts from Lully’s operas (about 43.5 x 29 cm), but as far as I know is not found in any other French viol source. Seventeenth and eighteenth-century French manuscripts with such large dimensions usually contain either plainsong or full scores of operas.

¹⁶ *Notice des principaux articles de la bibliothèque de M. de Villeneuve, conseiller au Grand Conseil ; dont la vente se fera en la maison de M. Didot le jeune, Quai des Augustins, le 7 janvier 1772, & jours suivants, à deux heures de relevée* ([Paris, 1771]). The copy F-Pnla DELTA-11402 includes the prices on interfoliated leaves. The music books are the last item of no. 3 (p. 2).

¹⁷ F-Pan MC/ET/LVII/541, 4 December 1778: ‘Item un Pupitre à Musique à Crémaillère prisee deux livres’; ‘Item une Basse de Viole prisé quatre livres’; ‘Item N° 69. Cinquante trois Volumes in folio et in quarto Livres de Musique prisés et estimés Vingt quatre livres.’ The 44 titles listed in the auction catalogue *Notice des livres de la bibliothèque de M. de Monticourt, dont la vente se fera, au plus offrant & dernier enchériseur, le 19 janvier 1779, & jours suivans, de relevée, rue du Hazard, Maison de M. Bras-d’Or, chirurgien* (Paris, 1779), 18–19 (as item 69) are only dramatic works. Maybe viol music was to be found among the ‘autres morceaux’ mentioned at the end of the list.

¹⁸ D. Garrick, *The private correspondence of David Garrick with the most celebrated persons of his time* (London, 1832), ii. 582–583 (letter of Jean Monnet to Garrick, 31 May 1771). For Lidl’s works, see F-Pn Vm⁷ 6298, 6300 and 6301. For the provenance, see F-Pn Rés. Vm⁸ 23, 547.

On the contrary, Vm⁷ 6275, a partbook lacking the bass part, is laid in a smaller oblong format suitable for performance use (about 20 x 25,5 cm) and contains only 262 (in fact 256) numbered and nine unnumbered pages. As to Vm⁷1107, it stands halfway between both others: it shares the upright format and the presentation in score with the Gf. Rés. Vma ms. 94, but with much smaller dimensions (217 numbered pages of approximately 26 x 19,5 cm) similar to those of the pardessus partbook. Different papers are likewise used for each of the manuscripts, though they all share various variants of the ‘Grapes’ motive as their mark. That of the bass viol book bears the ubiquitous countermark HJ♣CVSSON of the brothers Hiérosme and Jean Cusson, who belonged to a dynasty of papermakers from Thiers in Auvergne active from the 1630s to the nineteenth century. Hiérosme and Jean worked in the third quarter of the seventeenth century, but their initials are still found much later, until around 1750. And in the present case the paper appears indeed to have been produced by a later member of the family, as here the grapes surmount a cartouche containing the initials P♥C. They could refer to one of the Pierre Cussons active in the second quarter of the eighteenth century, as Raymond Gaudriault mentions the same combination in a document of 1738.¹⁹ The absence of the mention ‘AVVERGNE 1742’, so often found from this year until the last decades of the eighteenth century in watermarks from Auvergne, may well mean that the paper was manufactured before this date.²⁰

On the contrary, this date occurs in both other manuscripts. Vm⁷ 1107 has a countermark A♥VIMAL MOIEN from a member of the Vimal family of Ambert. Vm⁷ 6275 shows no less than three different watermarks. The table has a countermark P♥MALMENAIDE FIN belonging to one of the members of this dynasty of Thiers. In the mark of the first paper of the music section (up to p. 183), the grapes on a crowned shield resemble Gaudriault no. 961; the MOYEN / J♥JOHANNOT / EN VIVARETS / 1742 is from Jean Johannot (1702–1764) of Annonay (in Vivarais); from p. 184 to the end of the book the paper is FIN DE / P♥MONTGOLFIER, by Pierre II Montgolfier (1700–1793), another Annonay papermaker.²¹

In spite of their apparent similarities, the tables of contents at the end of the bass viol score book Gf. Rés. Vma ms. 94 and at the beginning of the pardessus partbook Vm⁷ 6275 (Vm⁷ 1107 has none) also show some interesting differences in addition to their respective positions. In the latter book, pieces are grouped into seventeen ‘Suites’ numbered in Roman numerals, each with its key indication in the form ‘D la re mineur’ or ‘G re sol majeur’, and two more suites for three viols, likewise numbered, of which the manuscript contains the *second dessus*; a few pieces, however, do not belong to the preceding suite, like the *Sonnerie de Ste Geneviève du Mont* which closes the book. In the bass viol book, there is no explicit mention of a division into suites, though twenty of them may be distinguished thanks both to the changes of keys and also to the horizontal

¹⁹ R. Gaudriault, *Filigranes et Autres Caractéristiques des Papiers Fabriqués en France aux XVIIe et XVIIIe Siècles* (Paris, 1995), 194 and 304, according to which the association of a similar mark and countermark is found in F-Pan O/1/1253.

²⁰ R. Gaudriault, *Filigranes...*, 27. A decision of 18 September 1741 allowed papermakers to sell their remaining stocks provided that they inscribed the date 1742 in the papers manufactured from 1st January 1742 on.

²¹ About these papermakers, see R. Gaudriault, *Filigranes...*, 278 (Vimal), 225 (Johannot) and 249 (Montgolfier). ‘A. Vimal’, like the abovementioned ‘HJ Cusson’ does not seem to refer necessarily to a particular member of the family, as it is found from 1715 to the end of the century.

lines which materialize two groups inside of the tonal sequences with a large number of pieces. Key indications use ‘tierce majeure’ or ‘tierce mineure’, a more archaic wording for the modes than ‘majeur’ and ‘mineur’. In the pardessus book, the pieces are numbered and the table refers to this numbering and not to the pagination, though some discrepancies occur between the table and the actual contents.²² This numbering may have been added because many pages bear two pieces, while this seldom happened in the bass book.

As regards the spelling of the titles, two features corresponding to the present use are found in Vm⁷ 6275, but not in Gf. Rés. Vma ms. 94: *v* is clearly distinguished from *u*, and the acute accent on *e* is always notated. Thus the pardessus book has *Gavotte* and *Prélude* where the large bass viol book has *Gauotte* and *Prelude*.

To sum up, the paper, the key indication and the spelling suggest that the new manuscript could have been copied earlier than the two books for pardessus de viole, perhaps in the 1740s or earlier in the 1750s.

Taken together, Villeneuve’s three manuscripts contain no less than 362 different pieces by Marin Marais (one occurs two times in Vm⁷ 6275), 356 of which were published between 1686 and 1725 in his five books of viol pieces, while four are not found in any other source. A complete inventory of Gf. Rés. Vma ms. 94 and Vm⁷ 6275 (which, incidentally, contain 205 pieces each),²³ as well as an index of the contents of all three manuscripts according to the VdGS Thematic index numbers are provided as appendixes A–C of the article. From them, it can be seen that Villeneuve, in both anthologies for solo viol, assembled in most of his suites movements selected from several books, sometimes associating works published in Books I and V and thus composed at a distance of almost four decades. In addition to the suites for three viols from Book IV, of which Villeneuve’s complete copies follow the order of the print, only five suites out of 37 are altogether taken from one and a same printed book.²⁴ One notices further that only 62 pieces (including the unpublished *La Siamoise*), that is 17,22% of the total number, are common to both manuscripts.

Book	Gf. Rés. Vma ms. 94	Vm ⁷ 6275	In both books
I	17 (8,29%/18,48%)	28 (13,59%/30,43%)	10 (2,86%/1,08%)
II	46 (22,44%/32,39%)	60 (29,13%/42,25%)	17 (4,86%/11,97%)
III	60 (29,27%/44,77%)	27 (13,11%/20,15%)	9 (2,57%/6,72%)
IV	46 (22,44%/42,20%)	43 (20,87%/39,45%)	13 (3,71%/11,93%)
V	32 (15,61%/27,83%)	45 21I,84%/39,13%)	12 (3,43%/10,43%)
<i>La Gamme</i>	0	I (0,48%)	0
Unpublished	4 (1,95%)	1 (0,48%)	1 (0,28%)

Table 1: Sources of the contents of both solo manuscripts and of the pieces common to them; the percentages are calculated in relation to the number of pieces in respectively the manuscript and the printed book .²⁵

²² P. 66 contains piece no. 72. On the two following pages, Villeneuve inadvertently reversed the numbering of the pieces and of the pages, thus jumping directly from p. 66 to p. 73 and reverting to piece number 67. Pieces nos. 69 to 71, found respectively on pp. 75, 76 and 78, are numbered 75 to 77 in the table, after which concordance is re-established. From no. 178 on (the first of the pieces for three viols), the numbering is found in the table only

²³ The duplicate copy of the Gavotte VdGS V, 78 is not taken in account here.

²⁴ Gf. Rés. Vma ms. 94, suites III and XIII; Vm⁷ 6275, suites II, IX and XIII.

²⁵ Percentages are based on 205 pieces for each manuscript and for the last column on the total number of 350 pieces (excluding the twelve works peculiar to Vm⁷ 1107) they contain.

Vm⁷ 1107 stands apart from both other books. It could be described as an ‘angelic’ manuscript, as it brings together copies in score format of the ‘archangel’ Corelli’s 48 trio sonatas opp. 1–4 and of the trio pieces from Books I and IV by Marais, the violist who ‘played like an angel’, all with the upper parts in treble clef, thus meant to be played on the pardessus de viole. It shows that Villeneuve’s staunch adherence to the French viol music exemplified by Marais, did not hinder him to like the music of Corelli, the paragon of the Italian violin school whose sonates were regularly reissued until the end of the century. He echoed Hubert Le Blanc’s ranking ‘Marais le Père’ and ‘Corelly’, along with Lully and ‘Mr. Michel’ (Michele Mascitti) among the ‘quartet who met the most melodious harmony’, and sort of updates Le Blanc’s advocacy of playing violin sonatas on the bass viol, by replacing the latter by the pardessus, which was not yet in fashion at the time Le Blanc wrote.²⁶

In all three manuscripts, Villeneuve remains altogether faithful to the Marais notational tradition, even if he considerably expands the number of the performance marks in the bass viol book, as Jonathan Dunford will show below. This is worth noting for the pardessus manuscripts, as among publications for this instrument only the earliest, that of Thomas Marc in 1724, and to a much lesser extent Charles Dollé in his op. 6 of 1754,²⁷ do not satisfy themselves with the cross (+) and mordent-like grace signs used in every other contemporary French music for string or wind instruments.

Finally, all items having belonged to Villeneuve and now held by the Bibliothèque nationale de France entered its collections at different times. The earliest to do it was Vm⁷ 1107, which bears a stamp of the Bibliothèque royale used from 1833 to 1848 and an earlier shelfmark Vm. 1625 C. The latter appears in Paul Louis Roualle de Boisgelou’s manuscript catalogue of the library’s music collections (1803), however as a later addition in the hand of another unidentified librarian, who moreover added a table of contents on the manuscript’s title page.²⁸

Next comes Vm⁷ 6275, which bears a stamp of the Bibliothèque impériale used from 1865 to 1870, but no earlier shelfmark, and does not appear in Boisgelou’s catalogue. It was not shelfmarked until the late nineteenth century, when the new thematic Vm¹ to Vm²⁸ series were created to replace the earlier unique Vm. series and to shelfmark both recent accessions and previously uncatalogued documents from the earlier collections.²⁹ It seems probable that it did not actually enter the collections during the Second Empire, but was rather stamped retrospectively, as many other music documents had already been between 1833

²⁶ Hubert Le Blanc, *Defense de la basse de viole contre les entreprises du violon et les prétentions du violoncel* (Amsterdam, 1740), 3: ‘Le Père Marais, Lully, Corelly, et Mr. Michel sont le *Quatuor* qui a rencontré l’harmonie la plus melodieuse’. See also 109–148.

²⁷ Thomas Marc, *Suite de pieces de dessus et de pardessus de viole et trois sonates, avec les basses continuë, qui se peuvent joier sur la viole, la flûte traversiere et autres instrumens* (Paris, 1724), RISM A/I M 416, retains the whole range of Marais’ grace and other performance signs, with ‘+’ instead of ‘x’ for the *batement*. Charles Dollé, in his *Sonates a deux pardessus de viole sans basse [...] Œuvre VI* (Paris, [1754]), RISM A/I D 3356, uses only two graces, the *tremblement* and the *batement*, both with Marais’ signs.

²⁸ Stamp no. 24 of P. Josserand and J. Bruno, ‘Les Estampilles du Département des Imprimés de la Bibliothèque Nationale’, *Mélanges d’Histoire du Livre et des Bibliothèques Offerts à Monsieur Frantz Calot* (Paris, 1960), 261–298. F-Pn Rés. Vm⁸ 23, 332: ‘Trio de Corelli, op. 1^a, 2^a, 3^a, 4^a. – Pièces de Marais à 3 violes, 1^e et 2^e Suites, pièces à 2 violes. en partition. Manuscrit daté de 1762. pet. in fol. parch. v.’ [i.e. *parchemin vert*: bound in green parchment].

²⁹ Stamp no. 36 of Josserand and Bruno, ‘Les Estampilles...’

and 1848.

The history of the printed copy of Book V remained completely independent of that of the two manuscripts mentioned just above until the Paris Conservatoire library, established in 1795, became part of the Bibliothèque nationale (1935) and soon afterwards of its newly-created Music department (1942). All three items have been stored in a same location since 1964 only, when the heritage collections of the Conservatoire library were transferred from the rue de Madrid to the department's new building of the rue de Louvois. The volume was inscribed in the Conservatoire accession register by Jean-Baptiste Weckerlin (1826–1910), the librarian of then, in the fourth quarter of 1895, as no. 28160.³⁰ Like the whole Conservatoire holdings, it received its present shelfmark only after the merging of the library into the Bibliothèque nationale.

Symbols and Instructions (JD)

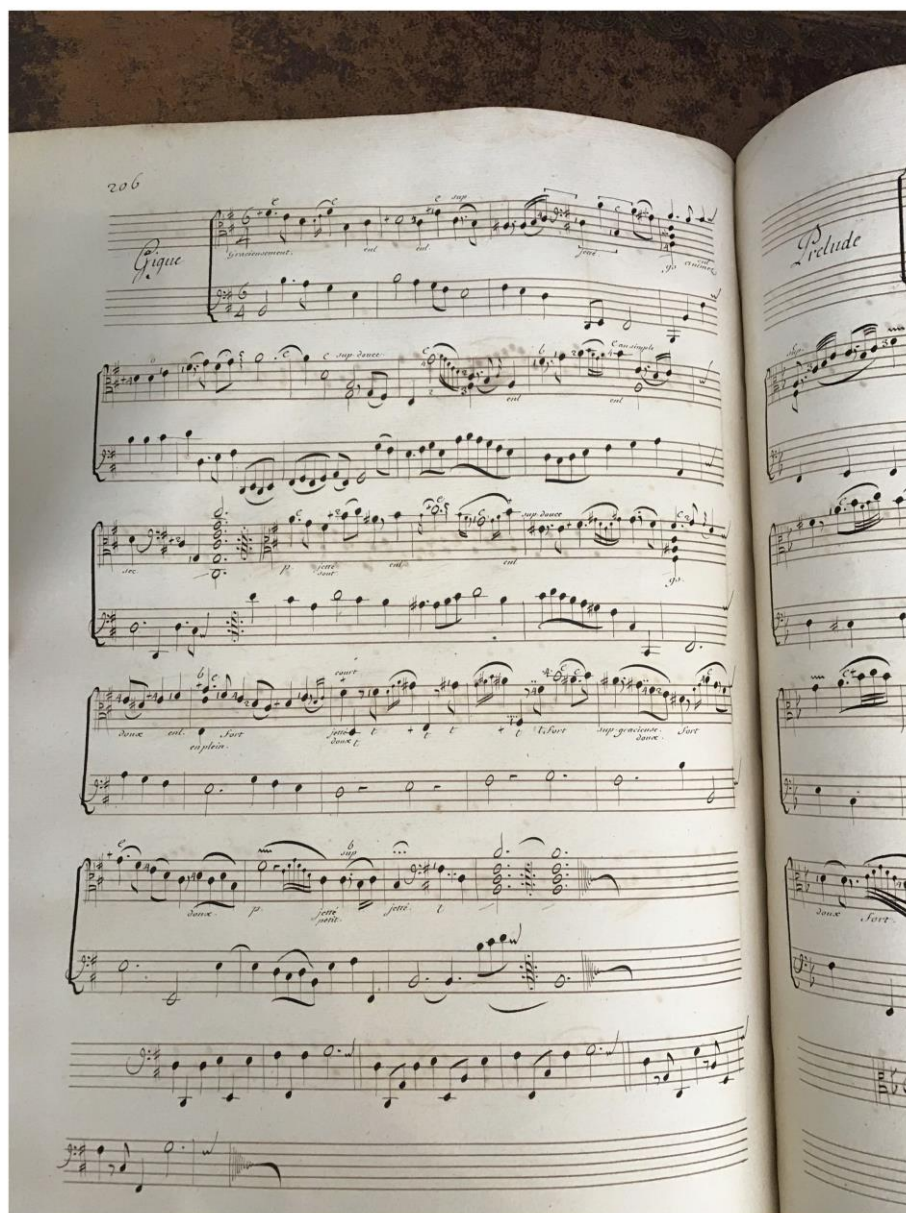
Hazelle Miloradovitch had thus discovered that the Bibliothèque Nationale de France owns three other manuscripts or books of music for the viol copied or owned by Villeneuve. These include the above-mentioned transcriptions of Marais' music for the pardessus de viole (two books from 1759 and 1762 respectively) as well as a copy of Marais' Fifth book of Viol Pieces (1725). Miloradovitch also described another book that we have started to consider in the equation, that is Marais' book II with similar markings to our present manuscript, but in a different hand, also owned by Delaistre and now held by the Sibley Music Library in Rochester. We will now presently refer to it as the 'Sibley book'

The newly discovered manuscript –which we will hereafter call the 'Delaistre manuscript', though Delaistre only was a secondary owner – is interesting by the sheer quantity of pieces that were copied (this time for the bass viol and not the pardessus) and the fact that Villeneuve chooses music from all five printed books as well as **four** unpublished works.³¹ This indeed is in the same vein as his pardessus arrangements of Marais' music. Therefore, what is in common with these two books is they both hand pick pieces from all five of Marais' printed books adding symbols, ornaments and additional notes to the original versions. Moreover, much more so than in the pardessus arrangements, this new manuscript not only contains Marais' own symbols, but the above-mentioned new ones, as well as abundant ornamentation in the form of written-out notes. One realizes once playing the Villeneuve versions of Marais' works, that at least during the former's lifetime, the tempos of most of the pieces must have been slower than what we are accustomed to nowadays.

³⁰ F-Pn VM FONDS ADC-2 (4), f. 14v

<<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b53152699r/f34.item>> (accessed 12 September 2020).

³¹ These include a *Rondeau* (34), *Muzette* (38), another *Rondeau* (204) and finally *La Siamoise* (270).



3. Villeneuve's rendition of Marais' *Gigue* (Book II, no. 91) with an emphasis on different types of the 'jetté' bow stroke

One of the most enigmatic symbols that is ubiquitous in the Delaistre manuscript and is equally found in the unpublished piece 'La Siamoise' common to both Villeneuve collections, as well as in the 'Sibley Book', is the symbol 'b'. According to the table in the Delaistre manuscript, it refers to 'bondissant'. That is literally 'leaping'. This obviously applies to the bow stroke. The 'bondissant' stroke can be applied in combination to other ornaments and symbols. One of the most puzzling is the 'bondissant' with an 'expression'.



4. F-Pn Gf. Rés. *Vma ms. 94, 231:*
extract from L'Arabesque (Book IV, no. 81), arrangement by Villeneuve

If indeed this means to have a 'leaping' or 'bouncing' bow, this combined with the 'swell' is very difficult for the performer to execute. Having now spent over a year of studying and playing from the manuscript, I must admit that the 'bondissant' bow has not yet revealed all of its mysteries.

What is totally clear though, is that if Marais had been at the origin of this term and symbol he could have added it with great ease to his printed editions, for instance in his last book of 1725. This is reinforced by the fact that Marais kept his plates for impression of his five books at home as attested by his inventory after death.³³ It indeed is as simple as adding a single letter, in the same vein as the 'e' symbol that Marais uses often starting in Book III in 1711. So, therefore as easy as changing a fingering or a dynamic, which was performed with all five printed books before they were reprinted. Marais indeed did make slight changes with each printed version of his music, a different fingering here or there, a small correction, mostly a forgotten flat or sharp, but he absolutely never made a complete overhaul of the basic structure of his ornaments and bowings. Moreover, when we compare the above-mentioned autograph manuscripts by young Marais in Scotland to the published version of the same pieces the changes are slight.³⁴ This with at least 25 year gap between some of the manuscript pieces and ones printed in his 1711 (Third book) publication.

Or, for that matter Marais' son Roland had ample possibilities to add it in his own last printed book published in 1738, ten years after his father's death. But neither the Marais family or Jean-Baptiste Cappus' viol music in 1730 resort to this symbol.³⁵ Furthermore, no printed books for the pardessus de viole nor manuscripts which take the viol's repertoire up until the French Revolution

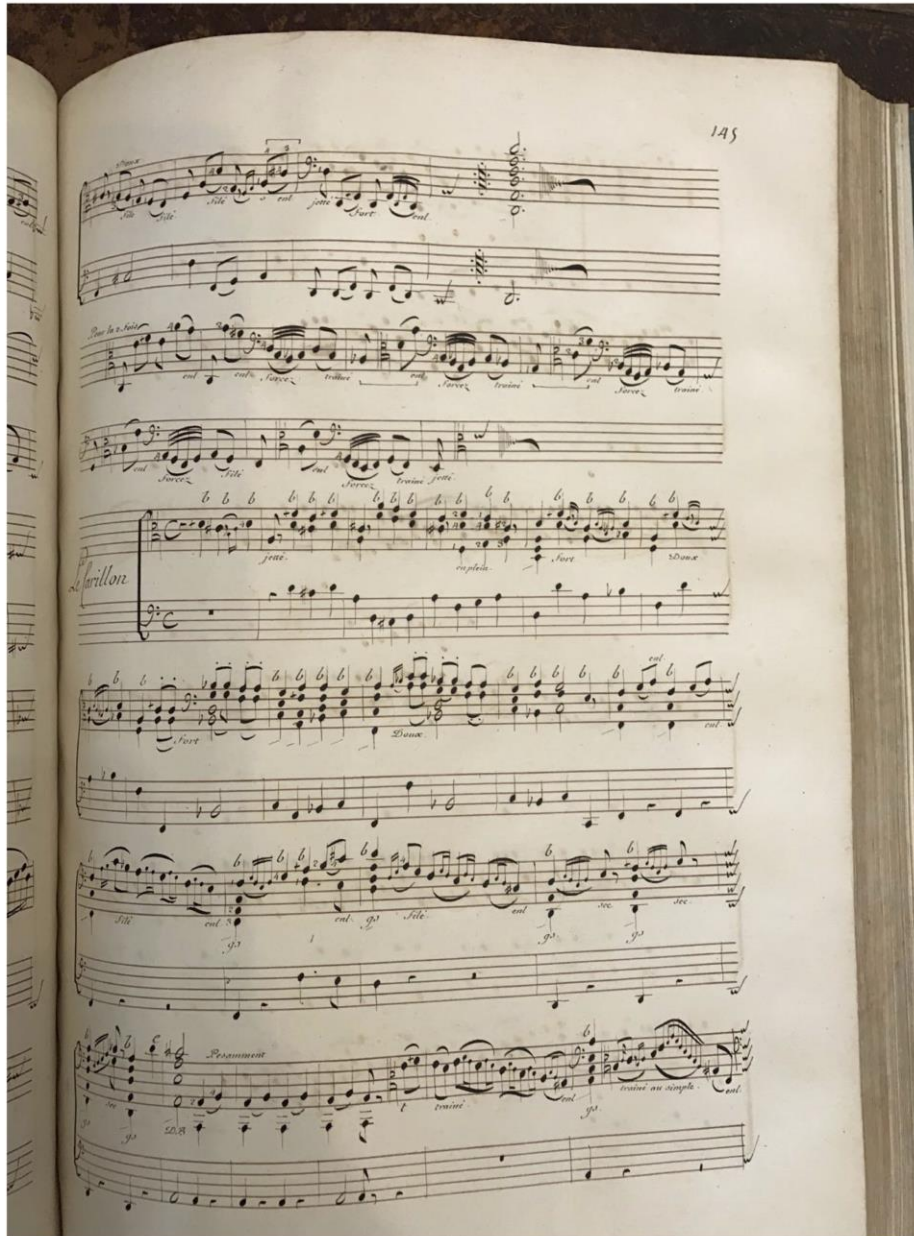
³³ F-Pan MC/RS//630: 'Inventaire fait après le décès de Sieur Marin Marais ordinaire de la Musique du Roy', 14 September 1728 <https://www.siv.archives-nationales.culture.gouv.fr/siv/media/Fran_IR_041157/c1p6sjll6qff-obt259k8via8/Fran_0159_08135_L> (accessed 5 September 1728).

³⁴ S. Cheney, 'Early Autograph Manuscripts...?'

³⁵ J.-B. Cappus, *Premier Livre de Pièces de Violle* (Paris, 1730), RISM A/I C 927 <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90097453>> (accessed 5 September 2020).

which have come to my attention include this particular symbol, excluding the ones in the present study. In fact the ‘bondissant’ bow stroke is not found outside of Villeneuve’s own transcriptions or the ‘Sibley book’ that belonged to Delaistre’s library in the eighteenth century as we have already mentioned. The only bowing that I find similar to these ‘leaping bow strokes’ are ones that modern violinists use, for instance in the music of Paganini.

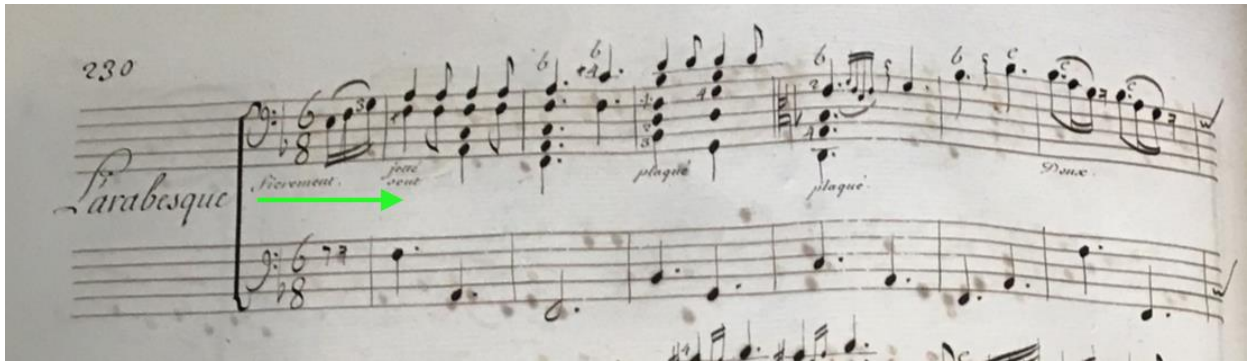
To return to the ‘b’ symbol, here in the following piece, the *Carillon*, was the bell like aspect intentionally enhanced by Villeneuve by adding so many ‘b’s on almost each and every note?



5. F-Pn Gf. Rés. *Vma ms. 94, 145:*
Villeneuve's arrangement of Le Carillon (Book II, no. 38)

Besides the table's own marks Villeneuve also provides written information

specifically for each piece. ‘Jeté soutenu’ (thrown and sustained) seems to be contradictory but is used for instance here in *L’Arabesque*.



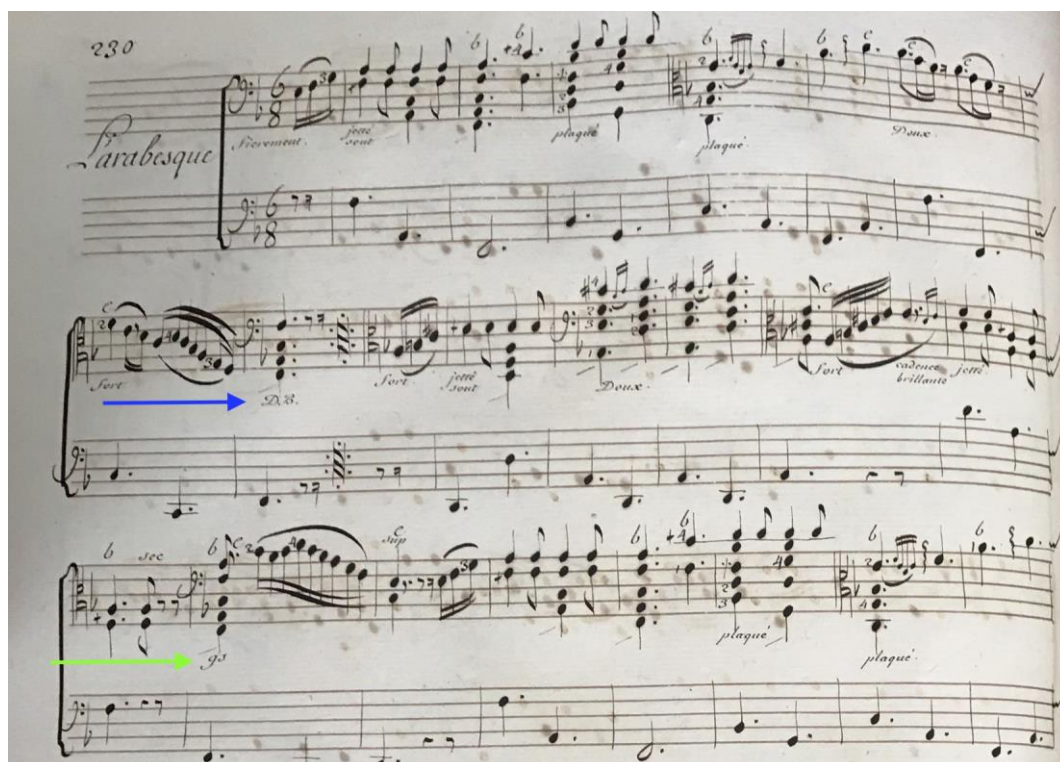
6. F-Pn Gf. Rés. *Vma ms. 94, 230: extract from L’Arabesque (Book IV, no. 81), arrangement by Villeneuve*

Marais was quite deft with his bow as one finds long slurred notes requiring a single bow with over a dozen notes in his printed books. The Villeneuve book now gives the violist an even greater challenge with 75 notes here accompanied by the formal instruction ‘75 notes d’un seul coup d’archet’ (‘75 notes in one single bow stroke’)!



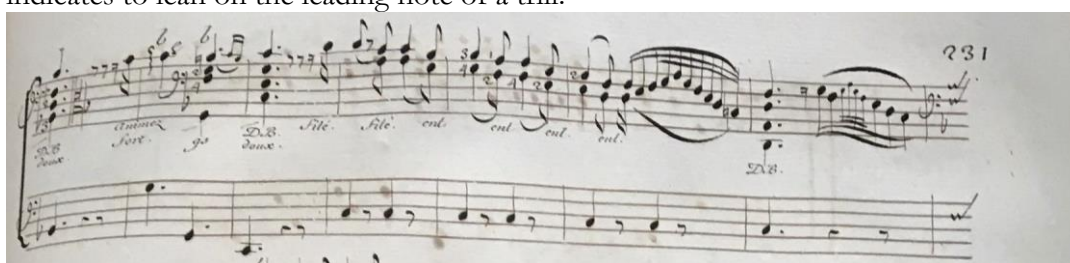
7. F-Pn Gf. Rés. *Vma ms. 94, 118: Villeneuve’s arrangement of a Marais Prelude (Book II, no. 21): note how meticulous Villeneuve was to note exactly how many notes under the bow there were!*

Other terms not present in Marais’ own publications are ‘gs’ (‘garder le supérieur’), that is to go straight to the top note in a chord and hold it or ‘db’ (‘demeurer sur la basse’), that is the opposite; stay longer on the bass of a chord before starting to arpeggiate.



8. F-Pn Gf. Rés. Vma ms. 94, 231: extract from *L'Arabesque* (Book IV, no. 81),
arrangement by Villeneuve

'Enl' (enlever) indicates to take the bow off the string. 'Sup' (supposition) indicates to lean on the leading note of a trill.



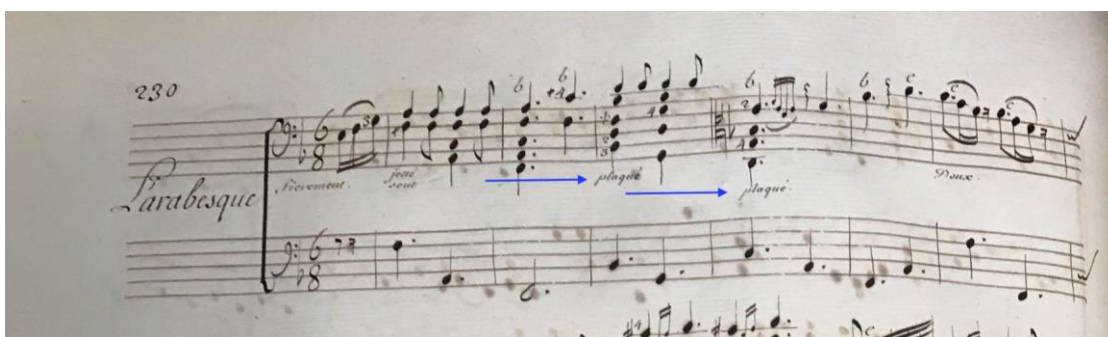
9. F-Pn Gf. Rés. Vma ms. 94, 230: extract from *L'Arabesque* (Book IV, no. 81),
arrangement by Villeneuve



10. F-Pn Gf. Rés. Vma ms. 94, 221: extract from *La Réveuse* (Book IV, no. 82),
arrangement by Villeneuve

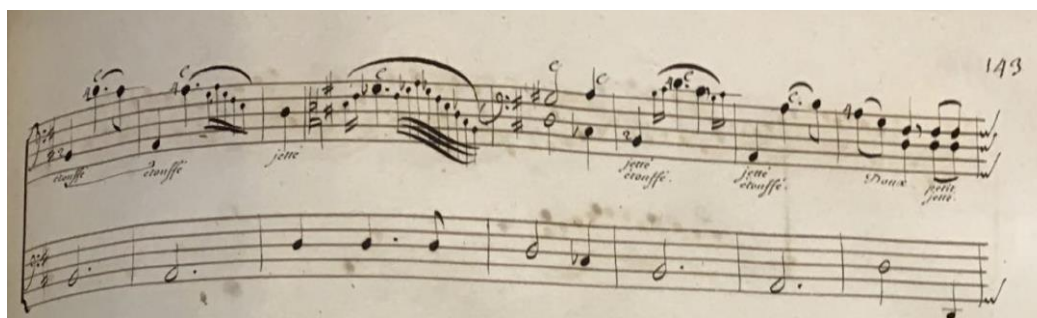
Another enigma of Villeneuve's terms is the use for chords of 'plaque', which means literally 'to strike a chord'. In his letter no. L, meant to have been sent from Rome in 1740 but in fact written between 1745 and 1755, president Charles

de Brosse writes that when accompanying the Italian recitative 'le clavecin plaque ses accords, d'une manière rude, et n'arpège jamais' ('the harpsichord strikes its chords, in a rough manner, and never arpeggiates').³⁶ This particular meaning of the word, still in use nowadays, was thus already familiar by the mid-eighteenth century to the music lover de Brosse and accordingly must have already been used some time before, but exactly how long remains uncertain at the moment. It seems not to be found in instructions for viol or harpsichord, which generally explain how to arpeggiate chords without telling anything of the non-arpeggiated ones. The only exception seems to be Marais, who explains in his Fifth book (1725) that the term 'en plein' (that is, 'full') means to play all the notes in the chord simultaneously, therefore not to arpeggiate. Villeneuve uses both 'en plein' and 'plaque'. Are they in fact the same or do they differ slightly as they are both used in the same piece from time to time?



11. F-Pn Gf. Rés. Vma ms. 94, 231: extract from *L'Arabesque* (Book IV, no. 81), arrangement by Villeneuve

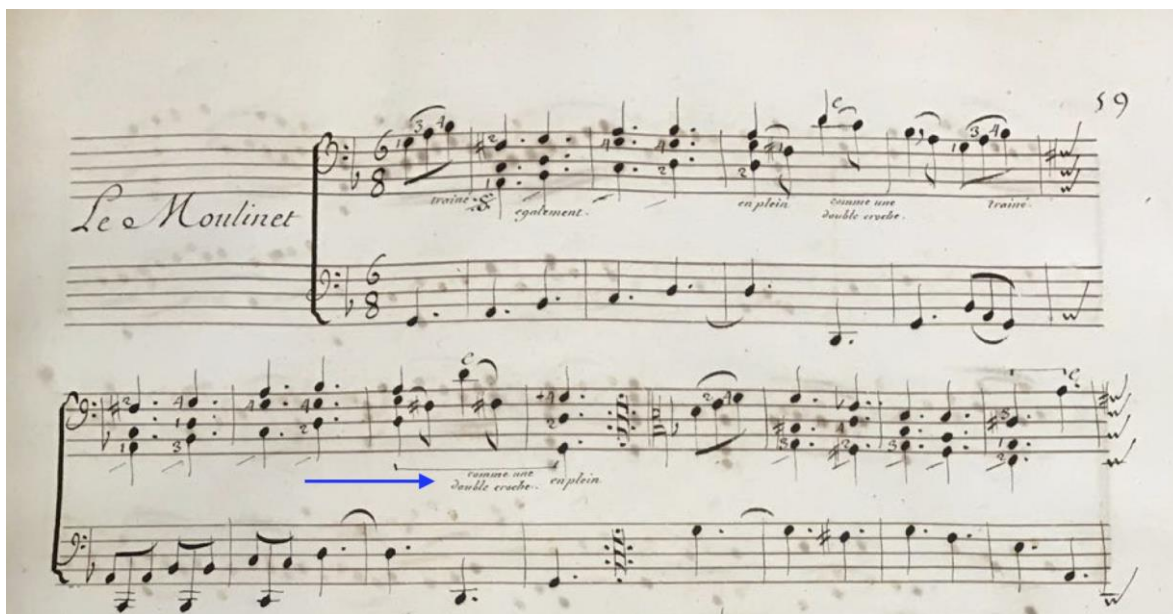
A curiosity is the mix of two terms that seem on the surface to be contradictory: 'jetté étouffé', literally 'thrown damped' or 'thrown muffled'. Another ambiguous bow stroke and a further subject to ponder upon.



12. F-Pn Gf. Rés. Vma ms. 94, 143: Villeneuve's arrangement of the *Chaconne* (Book II, no. 64)

³⁶ Ch. de Brosse, *Lettres Familiales Écrites d'Italie à quelques Amis en 1739 et 1740*, ed. H. Babou (Paris, 1858), ii. 249. About the genesis and the purpose of the collection, see Y. Bezard, 'Le Prpsident de Brosse et les *Lettres Familiales sur l'Italie*', *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*, iv, 23 (1929), 321–348 <https://www.persee.fr/doc/rhmc_09962727_1929_num_4_23_3566> (accessed 12 September 2020). The first occurrence of 'plaquer des accords' with the meaning of 'to strike a chord' seems first to be found in a music dictionary in J.J.O. de Meude-Monpas, *Dictionnaire de Musique, dans Lequel on Simplifie les Expressions et les Définitions Mathématiques et Physiques qui ont Rapport à cet Art* (Paris, 1787), 155, though only in the text of the article 'Prélude' and without any definition. The musical sense of 'plaque' did not enter the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française* before its eighth edition (Paris, 1932–1935).

Villeneuve gives some insight in to how *notes inégales* might have been performed in the eighteenth century: ‘Comme une double croche’ means ‘as a sixteenth note’, therefore the eighth note is to be performed as a sixteenth and the preceding quarter note is ‘dotted’ :



13. F-Pn Gf. Rps. Vma ms. 94, 59: Villeneuve's arrangement of *Le Moulinet* (Book IV, no. 91)

The Place of the Bass Viol in Mid-Eighteenth Century France

Jean-Baptiste Antoine Forqueray (1699–1782), son of Marais' illustrious contemporary Antoine Forqueray and himself a contemporary to Villeneuve (1706–1771), gives us some insight to the mood in Paris in 1747 in his dedication of his father's pieces to a viol-playing daughter of King Louis XV:

La Viole, malgré ses avantages, est tombée dans une Espèce d'oubli, votre goût, Madame, peut lui rendre la célébrité quelle a eue si longtemps, il peut exciter l'émulation de ceux qui cultivent la Musique.

[The viol, in spite of its qualities, has fallen into forgetfulness; your taste, Highness, may return to it the fame which it enjoyed for so long, and may also stimulate emulation in those who cultivate music.]³⁷

Seven years earlier, in 1740, Hubert Le Blanc published his treatise for the *Defense of the Bass Viol against the Enterprises of the Violin and the Pretensions of the Violoncello*. The Forqueray publication is also destined for the pardessus de viole, the violin-sized French viol that was acceptable to be played by Parisian women and on which Villeneuve seemed to be keen, while the violin was still frowned upon. After the last pieces for bass viol published in France, Louis de Caix d'Hervelois'

³⁷ Dedicatory epistle 'A Madame Henriette de France', in A. Forqueray, *Pieces de viole avec la basse continue* (Paris, [1747]), RISM A/I F 1524. Quoted in Y. Gérard, 'Notes sur la fabrication de la viole de gambe et la manière d'en jouer, d'après une correspondance inédite de Jean-Baptiste Forqueray au prince Frédéric-Guillaume de Prusse', *Recherches sur la musique française classique*, 2 (1961–1962), 165–171.

Fifth Book, had appeared one year after Forqueray's,³⁸ all viol composers in France without exception – Charles Dollé, Caix d'Hervelois, and many others – only composed or arranged pieces for the fashionable pardessus and no longer for the bass viol. In a similar vein to our present study, Jean-Baptiste Cappus' music for bass viol dating 1730 was adapted for the pardessus de viole nine years after his death as attested to by a manuscript in Lyons dated 1760.³⁹

We therefore see the Villeneuve manuscripts in this light. Not a composer himself and being obviously stricken with Marais' music, he continued to adapt the latter's bass viol music for the fashionable pardessus. This is obviously the explanation for the 1759 manuscript of exclusively Marais' works arranged for the five-string instrument, as well as the 1762 transcriptions of trio pieces by Corelli and Marais.

Villeneuve and the Pardessus de Viole

Unlike the bass book where great care was taken to copy each and every symbol even and strive to keep its exact position on each notehead, here on the other hand, it is flagrant that in his pardessus partbook Villeneuve has taken liberty to add or ignore symbols which were written or indicated by Marais himself. The above-mentioned symbol 'e' that Marais took such care to place in the exactly correct position on each note was added ad libitum, 'displaced', and even ignored (!) in the following Prélude. This is easy enough to verify as we have Marais' original printed version for this particular piece:



³⁸ L. de Caix d'Hervelois, *V^e livre de pièces de viole contenant trois suites et deux sonates* (Paris, 1748), RISM A/I C 46.

³⁹ F-LYm Ms. 6719, 'Pièces De musique Misent [sic] en ordre par monsieur Capus Musicien de L'académie de Dijon et premier musicien du Concert Le prix est de [?] par Suite et Se vend Chez le dit Sieur capus Qui loge au Logis du roy place Royal a dijon L'an 1760 à Dijon'. The following title is found on a fly-leaf: 'Première Suite de Pièces De Différents auteurs Pour le Dessus et par dessus de Violle [sic] Mises en ordre Par Mr Cappus Elles peuvent se jouer aussi sur la flute'. The manuscript was not sold by the arranger (1689–1751), but by his son Nicolas. About the Cappus family, see J. Dunford and Y. Beuvar, 'Jean(-Baptiste) Cappus – the forgotten violist: an inventory of his life and works', *The Viola da Gamba Society Journal*, 11 (2017), 46–64 <<http://vdgs.org.uk/journal/Vol-11.pdf>> (accessed 5 September 2020).

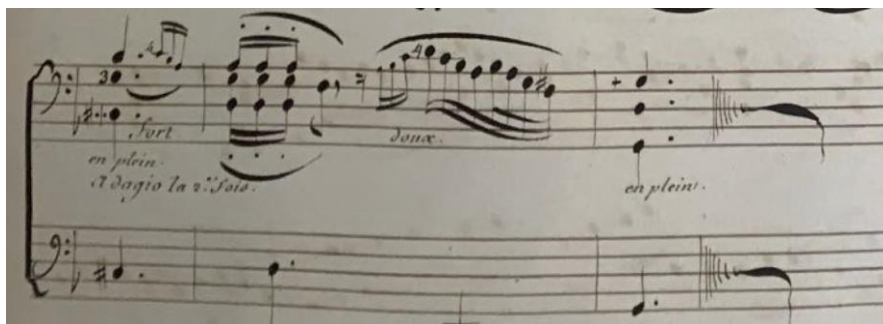


14 & 15. Prelude (Book III, no. 40): Villeneuve's arrangement for pardessus (F-Pn, Vm⁷ 6275, no. 147) and original printed version

The fact that Villeneuve selects to transcribe Corelli as the sole other composer alongside Marais is a hint towards a possible theory of Italianizing the viol to make it more fashionable.

Moreover, in this vein Marais himself almost never resorts to Italian terms or even musical forms.⁴⁰ Perhaps this was as a result of his competition with Forqueray who was known to perform sonatas and Italian music on the viol? Only in *La Gamme et Autres Morceaux de Symphonie* (1723), which includes chamber music specifically for the violin, does Marais have his preface translated into Italian. Noteworthy, this is the only other source that uses the terminology 'expression' for the letter 'e' mentioned earlier, as in our present manuscript.

In this example Villeneuve resorts to an Italian tempo marking and terminology not found at all in Marais' works.

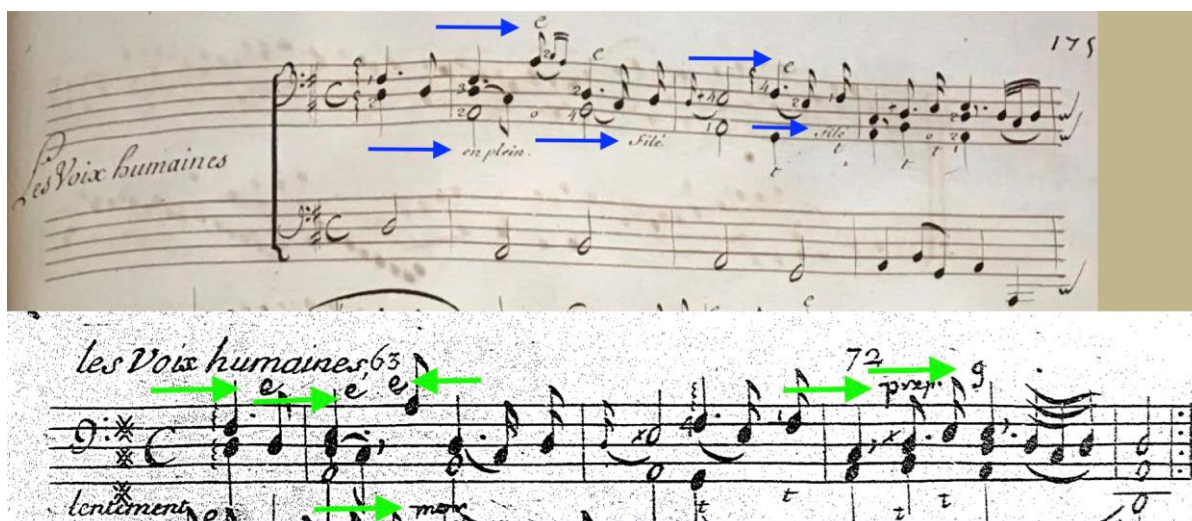


16. F-Pn Gf. Rps. Vma ms. 94, 61: end of Villeneuve's arrangement of *Le Moulinet* (Book IV, no. 91), with 'adagio' marking

The 'Sibley Markings' in the Light of the Newly Discovered manuscript

Here are a few isolated examples from our present manuscript that we can compare to the same added by hand in the copy Marais' Second book in US-R (the already mentioned 'Sibley' book). I must remind us that, while in the previously cited Prelude from Book III for the pardessus de viole the 'e' symbol could be found in the original version, though not necessarily at the same places, Marais had not yet added it in Book II (1701) and it would only appear ten years later with this publication of the Third book in 1711. The first examples in blue and the second in green:

⁴⁰ He wrote, however, a *Caprice ou Sonate* (Book IV, no. 73) and a *Sonate à la Marésienne* (*La Gamme et autres morceaux de symphonie*).



17. F-Pn Gf. Rés. Vma ms. 94, 175 and Book II, annotated copy in US-R: Begin of *Les voix humaines* (Book IV, no. 63), with performance marks

The ‘en plein’ playing of all the notes at once, as referred to above, is used in the example in the Delaistre manuscript and not in Sibley. ‘File’ or ‘spun’ is used twice in the Delaistre example and not at all in the Sibley example. And finally ‘g’ for ‘garder le supérieur’ (hold the top note of the chord) is used in the Sibley example and not in Delaistre.

Fifteen percent of Book II’s contents were selected, piece by piece for both the present manuscript and the Sibley book.⁴¹ Moreover, almost one half of the selected pieces in the Sibley book are in common with Villeneuve’s pardessus arrangements. Is this a coincidence or should we infer that maybe Villeneuve or the scribe who added markings in the Sibley book had access to both books?

Was Villeneuve, who may have been Marais’ student trying to copy out Marais’ indications that he had heard in person as a young man from the old master for posterity? This seems a stretch of imagination as the two books date from long after Marais’ death.⁴² Were there originally five books of Marais with these markings? Or, as I advocate, an attempt by Villeneuve himself to adapt this music to his own taste, to Italianize the viol which was rapidly disappearing from the Concert Spirituel in Paris being replaced by the violin? If the Delaistre book was indeed compiled in the 1740s or early 1750s as the watermarks seem to suggest, either Villeneuve had an extraordinary memory or had copied these markings from another source. It seems most logical that in fact, these were added in the second quarter or the middle of the eighteenth century and therefore not under Marais’ direct influence.

If we now look closer at the book in Rochester known as the ‘Sibley’ book with similar markings (added afterwards by hand), we ask whether they might have been added by Villeneuve, Delaistre, or someone else? Would this book be a ‘source’ for the markings in the Delaistre manuscript? It seems on close scrutiny to not be Villeneuve’s nor Delaistre’s hand. One can hypothesize as whether this other scribe was contemporary to Villeneuve or Marais. Or possibly that Armand Joseph Delaistre was like Villeneuve a viol enthusiast? The fact that his

⁴¹ See Appendix D for a list of pieces with additional performance markings in the ‘Sibley Book’, with their concordances in the Villeneuve manuscripts.

⁴² This is especially clear from the date of the Pardessus arrangements – 1759 shedding any doubt as to the time frame.

library contained at least two books of viol music by Marais possibly supports this hypothesis.⁴³ The chosen pieces in the Sibley version (which I reiterate are the same choice as Delaistre) contain these additional markings as in the present Delaistre book (but not in the same places as the Delaistre version, or the same quantity, or even the same terms as demonstrated above). It would seemingly preclude that Villeneuve, who was so diligent in copying every last detail in Marais' printed music would have botched this particular transcription of 22 pieces in one fell swoop. This anonymous scribe still needs to be identified and as Hazelle Miloradovich points out below this may have been a common practice for 18th century viol masters, to add symbols and instructions to printed music. Adding handwritten indications in Marais' books has often been the case, as for example a recently discovered printed book by Marais with contemporary markings by modern string players made in the 1960s, which we consulted recently in the library in Melun, France.⁴⁴

As Hazelle Miloradovitch rightly points out (referring to the *pardessus* arrangements by Villeneuve) in her above-mentioned article

As for the other markings found in the Sibley volume, these must have been markings commonly used by viol teachers of the eighteenth century. Since the variety of markings exhibited in the Sibley volume is greater than in the Villeneuve manuscript, one supposes that two different teachers, using a common vocabulary of markings, had marked the Sibley volume and the original copy of 'La Siamoise'. Though the Sibley volume bears more pieces marked with a variety of markings, the Villeneuve volume contains a much greater number of Marais's pieces with additional *enflés* and Italian ornaments. Both these volumes provide an invaluable aid in the study of the performance-practice of eighteenth-century viol music.⁴⁵

Thus, reinforcing my own observations and the Italianate tendency which was in general, avoided by Marais himself. I quote Hazelle Miloradovitch once again:

The taste for Italian music is certainly reflected in Villeneuve's transcriptions. By his addition of many Italian-style ornaments to Marais's *Pieces de Viole*, Villeneuve has in effect rendered Marais's music more Italian, coincidentally fulfilling Daquin's wish about this music expressed in 1754, five years before the dating of Villeneuve's manuscript: 'Enfin Marais parut: [...] il porta la viole aussi loin qu'elle pouvoit aller. Peut être serait-il devenu encore plus grand s'il s'étoit familiarisé avec la Musique Italienne: mais quand ce goût vint en France, il étoit trop tard pour lui.' (Finally Marais appeared [on the musical scene] ... he developed [the art of] the viol to its limits. Perhaps he would have become even greater had he familiarised himself with Italian music, but when this taste [for Italian music] came to France, it was too

⁴³ A copy of *La Gamme* sold at Sotheby's in 2012 bears a manuscript ex-libris 'DeLaistre Savigny' above the title. It is bound with a copy each of J. Aubert, *Sonates à violon seul et basse continue... Livre II* (Paris, 1721), RISM A/I A 2604; G. Fedeli detto Saggione, *Sonate a violino é basso... Opera prima* (Paris, 1715); and the *basso di ripieno* partbook of M. Mascitti, *IV concerti a sei stromenti, due violini e basso del concertino e un violino, alto viola, col basso di ripieno... opera settima* (Paris, 1727), another edition of RISM A/I M 1236 <<https://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2012/collection-musicale-andreyer/lot.182.html>> (accessed 8 October 2020). Although the name Delaistre looks very similar to Armand Joseph's signature on his marriage record, the *nom de terre* Savigny would hint at his brother Paul (d. 1767) as the owner.

⁴⁴ M. Marais, *Pièces à une et à trois violes* (Paris, 1717), RISM A/I M 396, copy at F-MEL FM 26.

⁴⁵ H. Miloradovitch, 'Eighteenth-Century Manuscript Transcriptions...?'

late for him.)

Finally, the title of the manuscript itself 'Recueil des plus belles Pieces de Viole de M. Marais avec les Agrémens' ('Collection of the most beautiful pieces by M. Marais with Ornaments') may be a clue in itself, and seems to plead towards a 'new approach' with the added ornaments. The sheer unwieldy size of the Delaistre book would certainly make it a good candidate for a personal library, and not a performance book. The smaller printed book ('Sibley'), on the other hand conveniently sat on a music stand for the performer. We can only speculate why these two books were both in De Laistre's library, and even if he played the viol.

Conclusion

I would therefore conclude that Villeneuve himself, after Marais' death, Italianized his music as a last attempt to modernize the bass viol itself and make it more to his own taste. That is, to use techniques that were akin to the Italian violin. Villeneuve was still performing music from the late seventeenth century at the end of the mid-eighteenth century. He continued to play the bass viol that had long gone out of fashion and most probably for a few of his closest friends. Seen in this light the Villeneuve manuscripts including the newly acquired one for the bass represents a later generation's view take on Marais' music. The viol's last breath was taken at this end of the eighteenth century not to be revived until two centuries later.

APPENDIX A

Inventory of F-Pn Gf. Rés. Vma. ms. 94

Suite numbers are editorial. They correspond either to a change of key, in which case the heading of the table is transcribed, or to the presence in the table of a horizontal line inside a same tonal section.

Titles are transcribed from the music section. Discrepancies with the table are added into square brackets, as well as a few comments. Line breaks are materialized by a vertical line ‘|’.

P.	Book, No.	Title
		[Suite I] <i>E si mi Tierce mineure</i> [E minor]
1	V, 102	<i>Marche Persanne</i>
2	IV, 49	<i>Gigue La Piquante</i>
3-4	II, 104	<i>Rondeau Champêtre</i> [table: <i>Rondeau Champêtre</i>]
4-5	II, 98	<i>Allemande</i>
6	IV, 65	<i>L'Uniforme</i>
7	IV, 48	<i>Sarabande a l'Espagnol</i>
8-9	V, 104	<i>Gigue la Resolüe</i>
10	V, 105	<i>Les Amusemens</i>
11-14	IV, 61	<i>Feste</i> <i>Champêtre</i> [table: <i>Fête Champêtre</i>]
		[Suite II]
15	IV, 45	<i>Prelude</i>
16-17	II, 110	<i>Fugue gaye</i>
18	IV, 63	<i>Rondeau</i> <i>le Bijou</i>
20-21	V, 93	<i>Allemande</i>
21-22	II, 102	<i>Gigue</i>
23	IV, 51	<i>Rondeau Paysan</i>
24-25	II, 116	<i>Pavane</i> [subtitled in print <i>selon le goût des anciens Compositeurs de luitl</i>]
26-28	IV, 68	<i>L'Ameriquaine</i>
28	V, 94	<i>La Simplicité</i> <i>Paysane</i>
29-32	II, 124	<i>Chaconne</i>
33	II, 106	<i>Gavotte</i>
34-37		<i>Rondeau</i>
38-39		<i>Muzette</i>
		[Suite III] <i>E si mi b mol Tierce majeure</i> [E flat major]
40	IV, 55B	<i>Marche</i> <i>Tartare</i>
41	IV, 56	<i>Allemande</i>
42	IV, 57	<i>Sarabande</i>
43	IV, 58-59	<i>La Tartarine</i>
44-45	IV, 60	<i>Gavotte</i>
		[Suite IV] <i>G re sol Tierce mineure</i> [G minor]
46-47	V, 71	<i>Tombeau</i> <i>de Mr Marais</i> [table: <i>Tombeau de Marais</i>]
48-50	III, 90	<i>Fugue gaye</i>
51	I, 50	<i>Courante</i>
52	V, 70	<i>Allemande</i> <i>La Marianne</i>
53-54	I, 93	<i>Rondeau</i>
54-55	V, 67	<i>Gigue</i> <i>La Pagode</i>
56	V, 73	<i>La Georgienne</i>

57	III, 85	<i>Gavotte</i>
58	V, 66	<i>Sarabande</i>
59-61	III, 91	<i>Le Moulinet</i>
[Suite V]		
62	III, 76	<i>Prelude</i>
62-63	III, 78	<i>Allemande</i>
64	III, 79	<i>Courante</i>
65-67	III, 84	<i>Rondeau Louré</i>
68-69	III, 82	<i>Gigue La Chicane</i>
70	III, 83	<i>Gigue</i> [table: <i>Autre Gigue</i>]
71	III, 88	<i>Menuet fantasque</i>
72-73	V, 82	<i>Rondeau le Troilleur</i>
74-75	V, 87	<i>Le Volant</i>
76-77	I, 49	<i>Allemande</i>
78-81	V, 112	<i>La Poitevine</i>
[Suite VI] <i>G re sol Tierce majeure</i> [G major]		
82	II, 81	<i>Prelude</i>
82-83	III, 93	<i>Caprice</i>
84-85	III, 96	<i>Allemande</i> <i>La Magnifique</i>
85	II, 69	<i>Courante</i>
86-87	III, 100	<i>Gigue</i> <i>à L'angloise</i>
87	II, 70	<i>Sarabande</i> [table: <i>Sarabande la Desolée</i>]
88-91	II, 82	<i>Chaconne</i> <i>en Rondeau</i>
92-93	III, 105	<i>La Muzette</i>
94-96	III, 106	<i>Muzette</i> <i>a deux Violes</i> [table: <i>2.e Muzette</i>]
97-99	III, 107	<i>La Guittare</i>
[Suite VII]		
100-102	II, 65	<i>Prelude</i>
103	III, 98	<i>Courante</i>
104	II, 80	<i>Rondeau Champêtre</i>
104-105	IV, 70	<i>Allemande</i> <i>L'asmatique</i>
106-107	II, 73	<i>Gigue</i> <i>La Badine</i>
108-109	V, 84	<i>La Tatillone</i>
109	IV, 71	<i>La Tourneuse</i>
110-111	III, 104	<i>Menuet</i> <i>Le Cor de Chasse</i>
112	V, 85	<i>Saillie du Jardin</i>
112-115	V, 88	<i>Allemande</i> [followed by] <i>Double</i>
115	III, 102	<i>Gavotte</i>
116-117	II, 76	<i>Rondeau</i>
117	V, 90	<i>Le Petit Badinage</i>
[Suite VIII] <i>D la re Tierce mineure</i> [D minor]		
118-121	II, 21	<i>Prelude</i> [table: <i>Grand Prelude</i>]
122-123	II, 24	<i>Allemande</i>
124	IV, 75	<i>La Sauterelle</i>
125	II, 30	<i>Fantaisie Luthée</i>
126-129	II, 19	<i>Ballet</i> <i>en Rondeau</i>
130	I, 15	<i>Sarabande</i>
130-132	II, 32	<i>Gigue</i> [with written-out varied repeats, different from the printed <i>Double</i>]
133	II, 25	<i>Courante</i>
134-135	II, 14	<i>Caprice</i>
136-139	II, 40	<i>La Polonoise</i>
140-143	II, 64	<i>Chaconne</i>
144-145	IV, 78	<i>La Minaudière</i>
145-149	II, 38	<i>Le Carrillon</i>

[Suite IX]		
150-151	II, 1	<i>Prelude</i>
151-152	II, 7	<i>Allemande</i>
152-153	II, 29	<i>Boutade</i>
154-155	II, 37	<i>Rondeau</i> <i>Champêtre</i>
156-157	IV, 6	<i>Gigue la Petite</i>
158	II, 28	<i>Sarabande</i>
158-159	III, 48	<i>Bourée</i> <i>Paysane</i>
160-161	V, 114	<i>Le Tact</i>
162-167	I, 47	<i>Chaconne</i>
[Suite X] <i>D la re Tierce majeure</i> [D major]		
166-167	I, 28	<i>Prelude</i>
168-169	I, 42	<i>Rondeau</i> <i>Le Gracieux</i> [subtitle not in print; table: <i>Rondeau</i>]
170-171	I, 31	<i>Allemande</i> <i>La Royale</i> [subtitle not in print]
171-172	V, 54-55	<i>La Fromental</i> [followed by] <i>Double</i>
172-173	II, 56	<i>Gigue</i> <i>a L'angloise</i>
174	II, 58	<i>Rondeau</i>
175	II, 63	<i>Les Voix humaines</i>
176-177	III, 57	<i>La Brillante</i>
178-179	I, 37	<i>Sarabande</i>
179-181	III, 56	<i>Chaconne</i>
[Suite XI]		
181-182	IV, 8	<i>Prelude</i>
183-185	III, 54	<i>Rondeau</i>
186	IV, 11	<i>Boutade</i>
186-187	IV, 12	<i>Gavotte</i> <i>La Favorite</i>
188-189	II, 59	<i>La Villageoise</i>
190-191	IV, 14	<i>Rondeau</i> <i>Le Gracieux</i>
191	IV, 13	<i>La Petite Brillante</i>
192-193	I, 6	<i>Allemande</i> [table: <i>Allemande mineur</i>]
194	II, 17	<i>Menuet</i> [table: <i>Menuet mineur</i>]
195	III, 50	<i>Petit Rondeau</i>
196-197	III, 58	<i>Charivari</i>
[Suite XII] <i>B fa si Tierce mineure</i> [B minor]		
198-201	I, 91	<i>Fantaisie</i>
202-203	II, 85	<i>Allemande</i>
204-205		<i>Rondeau</i>
206	II, 91	<i>Gigue</i>
[Suite XIII] <i>B fa si b mol Tierce majeure</i> [B flat major]		
207	III, 59	<i>Prelude</i>
208	III, 61	<i>Allemande</i>
209	III, 67	<i>Gigue</i>
210	III, 65	<i>Sarabande</i>
211	III, 68	<i>Gavotte</i>
212-213	III, 71	<i>Rondeau</i>
214	III, 70	<i>Gavotte du</i> <i>goût du Théorbe</i> <i>que l'on peut Pincer</i> <i>si l'on veut</i> [table: <i>Gavotte dans le Goût du Theorbe</i>]
215	III, 72-73	<i>Bourée</i> <i>Paysane</i>
216-217	III, 75	<i>Menuet</i>
[Suite XIV] <i>F ut fa Tierce majeure</i> [F major]		
218	IV, 15	<i>Prelude</i>
219	III, 28	<i>Allemande</i>
220-221	V, 44	<i>Les</i> <i>Forgerons</i>

221-222	IV, 82	<i>La Revenuse</i>
222-225	IV, 22	<i>Chaconne</i>
225	III, 30	<i>Courante</i>
226-227	V, 42	<i>Idée Grottesque</i>
228-229	III, 34	<i>Gigue</i>
230-231	IV, 80	<i>L'arabesque</i>
[Suite XV]		
232	III, 26	<i>Prelude</i>
233-235	V, 40	<i>Rondeau Paysan</i>
236	IV, 81	<i>Allemande La Superbe</i>
237-238	IV, 21	<i>La Provençale</i>
239	IV, 18	<i>Gigue</i>
240-241	IV, 79	<i>Allemande La Singulière</i>
242	V, 46	<i>Prelude</i>
243-245	III, 37	<i>Rondeau</i>
246-247	III, 38	<i>Chaconne</i>
[Suite XVI] <i>F ut fa dieze Tierce mineure</i> [F sharp minor]		
248-249	I, 84	<i>Prelude</i>
250-251	I, 85	<i>Allemande</i>
252-253	I, 88	<i>Gigue</i>
254	IV, 83	<i>Marche</i>
255	IV, 85	<i>Piece Luthée</i>
256	I, 87	<i>Sarabande</i>
257	IV, 84	<i>Gigue</i>
258-259	IV, 87	<i>Le Badinage</i>
[Suite XVII] <i>A mi la Tierce majeure</i> [sic for A minor]		
260	III, 11	<i>Prelude</i>
261	III, 2	<i>Allemande</i>
262	V, 9	<i>La Sincopé</i> [table: <i>Gavotte la Sincopé</i>]
262-264	IV, 32	<i>Rondeau Lourée</i>
265	V, 4	<i>La Mariée</i>
266	III, 3	<i>Courante</i>
267	IV, 26	<i>Gigue</i>
268:1	IV, 28	<i>Muzette</i>
268:2	IV, 29	<i>2.e Muzette</i> [table: <i>Muzette</i>]
269	IV, 30-31	<i>La Sautillante</i>
270-272	VdGS 201	<i>La Siamoise</i>
273	III, 5	<i>Gigue</i>
274-277	III, 13	<i>Grand Ballet</i>
[Suite XVIII]		
278-281	IV, 73	<i>Caprice ou Sonate</i>
282	IV, 24	<i>Allemande</i>
283	III, 1	<i>Fantaisie</i>
284-285	V, 11	<i>Rondeau</i>
286	V, 14	<i>Gigue La Mutine</i>
287	V, 3	<i>Sarabande</i>
288	V, 13	<i>Grande Gavotte</i>
289-291	I, 65	<i>Rondeau du Roy</i> [subtitle not in print; also found in F-Pn Vm ⁷ 6296, pp. 66–69, and F-Pn Rés. Vma ms. 863, pp. 30–31]
[Suite XIX] <i>A mi la Tierce majeure</i> [A major]		
292	IV, 33	<i>Prelude</i>
292-295	II, 128	<i>Allemande</i> [followed by] <i>La même</i>
296-297	I, 61	<i>Sarabande</i>

298-299	II, 127	<i>Boutade</i>
300-301	II, 132	<i>La Gracieuse</i>
302-303	II, 134	<i>Gigue</i>
303	III, 19	<i>Gavotte</i>
304-305	V, 29-30	<i>La Babillarde</i> [followed by] <i>Double</i>
306	III, 25	<i>Allemande</i> <i>La Gothique</i>
306-313	IV, 74	<i>Le Labyrinthe</i>
314	V, 21	<i>Marche</i> <i>Turque</i>
315-317	V, 28	<i>Rondeau</i>
318-319	III, 20	<i>Gigue</i> <i>L'Inconstante</i>
319-320	IV, 42	<i>Rondeau</i> <i>L'Agreable</i>
321	II, 138	<i>Bransle de Village</i>
322	II, 135	<i>Gavotte</i>
323:1	II, 136	<i>Menuet</i>
323:2	II, 137	<i>Menuet</i>
324-328	II, 142	<i>Fantaisie</i>
[Suite XX] <i>C solut</i> [C minor and major]		
329	III, 123	<i>Prelude</i> [table adds <i>mineur</i>]
329-330	III, 126	<i>Allemande</i> [table adds <i>mineur</i>]
330-331	III, 116	<i>Gigue</i> [table adds <i>majeur</i>]
332	III, 112	<i>Sarabande</i> [table adds <i>majeur</i>]
332-334	III, 120-121	<i>Saillie du Caffé</i> [followed by] <i>Double</i> [table adds <i>majeur</i>]
335	III, 127	<i>Courante</i> [table adds <i>mineur</i>]
336-337	III, 130	<i>Rondeau</i> [table adds <i>mineur</i>]
338-339	IV, 72	<i>Musette</i> [table adds <i>majeur</i>]
340	III, 113	<i>Sarabande</i> <i>en Rondeau</i> [table adds <i>majeur</i>]
341	III, 119	<i>Menuet</i> [table adds <i>majeur</i>]
342-343	III, 134	<i>Les Contrefaiseurs</i> [table adds <i>mineur</i>]
344-346	III, 122	<i>Chaconne</i> [table adds <i>majeur</i>]

APPENDIX B

Inventory of F-Pn Vm⁷ 6275

Suite heading and numbers are transcribed from the table.

Due to the presence of both a pagination and a numbering, the pagination is given first, followed by the piece number into square brackets.

Titles are transcribed from the music section except if otherwise indicated. Discrepancies with the table are added into square brackets, as well as a few comments. Line breaks are materialized by a vertical line ‘|’.

P. (no.)	Book, No.	Title
		[I ^{re} Suite] <i>De la ré majeur</i> [D major]
1 (1)	I, 28	<i>Prélude</i>
2-3 (2)	III, 58	<i>Charivary</i>
4-5 (3)	II, 49-50	<i>Allemande</i> [followed by] <i>Double</i>
6:1 (4)	II, 51	<i>Courante</i>
6:2 (5)	II, 53	<i>Sarabande</i>
7:1 (6)	II, 55	<i>Gigue</i>
7:2 (7)	I, 44	<i>Mennet</i>
8:1 (8)	I, 43	<i>Gavotte</i>
8:2 (9)	II, 56	<i>Gigue a l'angloise</i>
8-9 (10)	IV, 11	<i>Caprice</i>
9 (11)	III, 44	<i>Sarabande</i>
10-13 (12)	I, 47	<i>Chaconne</i>
		II. Suite. B fa si mineur [B minor]
14:1 (13)	II, 83	<i>Prélude</i>
14:2 (14)	II, 84	<i>Fantaisie</i> [table: <i>Petite fantaisie</i>]
15 (15)	II, 85	<i>Allemande</i>
16 (16)	II, 87	<i>Courante</i>
17:1 (17)	II, 88	<i>Sarabande</i>
17:2 (18)	II, 90	<i>Gigue</i>
18 (19)	II, 86	<i>Allemande</i>
19:1 (20)	II, 89	<i>Sarabande</i>
19:2 (21)	II, 91	<i>Gigue</i>
20:1 (22)	II, 92	<i>Mennet</i>
20:2 (23)	II, 93	<i>Gavotte</i>
20:3 (24)	II, 94	<i>Mennet</i>
		III ^e Suite. D la ré mineur [D minor]
21 (25)	IV, 1	<i>Prélude</i>
22 (26)	II, 29	<i>Boutade</i>
23-24 (27)	I, 6	<i>Allemande</i> [followed by] <i>Double</i>
25:1 (28)	I, 15	<i>Sarabande</i>
25:2 (29)	V, 113	<i>La Parazat</i>
26-27 (30)	II, 32-33	<i>Gigue</i> [followed by] <i>Double</i>
28-29 (31)	II, 37	<i>Rondeau Champêtre</i> [table: <i>Rondeau Champêtre</i>]
29 (32)	V, 114	<i>Le Tact</i>
30-31 (33)	II, 19	<i>Ballet en Rondeau</i>
		IV ^e Suite. G re sol mineur [G minor]
32 (34)	III, 76	<i>Prélude</i>
32-33 (35)	III, 77	<i>Caprice</i> [followed by] <i>Double</i>

34-35 (36)	I, 49	<i>Allemande Luthée</i> [followed by] <i>La même avec les agréments</i>
35 (37)	V, 69	<i>Mennuet</i>
36:1 (38)	V, 68	<i>Gavotte</i>
36:2 (39)	I, 51	<i>Sarabande</i>
36-37 (40)	V, 70	<i>Allemande</i> <i>La</i> <i>Marianne</i>
<i>V^e Suite. G re sol majeur</i> [G major]		
37-39 (41)	II, 65	<i>Prélude</i>
40:1 (42)	II, 72	<i>Sarabande</i>
40:2 (43)	V, 75	<i>Allemande la Fiere</i>
41:1 (44)	V, 78	<i>Gavotte</i>
41:2 (45)	V, 76	<i>Sarabande</i>
42-43 (46)	III, 96-97	<i>Allemande la Magnifique</i> [followed by] <i>Double</i>
44-45 (47)	III, 107	<i>La Guittarre</i>
<i>VI^e Suite. E si mi mineur</i> [E minor]		
46:1 (48)	IV, 46	<i>Fantaisie</i>
46:2 (49)	V, 98	<i>Sarabande</i>
47 (50)	IV, 62	<i>Gigue la Flesselle</i>
48-49 (51)	II, 109	<i>Tombeau</i> <i>de M^r</i> <i>de S^{te} Colombe</i>
49 (52)	V, 109	<i>Paysane</i>
50:1 (53)	V, 110	<i>Gigue</i>
50:2 (54)	V, 111	<i>Air</i>
50-51 (55)	IV, 63	<i>Rondeau</i> <i>le</i> <i>Bijou</i>
52 (56)	II, 105	<i>Passacaille</i>
53 (57)	II, 102	<i>Gigue</i>
54:1 (58)	II, 100	<i>Sarabande</i>
54:2 (59)	V, 96	<i>Gavotte la</i> <i>Singuliere</i>
55 (60)	V, 102	<i>La Savigny</i> <i>Marche Persane</i> [table: <i>Marche Persane</i>]
56:1 (61)	IV, 65	<i>L'Uniforme</i>
56-57 (62)	V, 103	<i>Rondeau le</i> <i>Plaisant</i>
57 (63)	V, 105	<i>Les Amusemens</i>
58-60 (64)	IV, 61	<i>Feste Champêtre</i>
<i>VII^e Suite. A mi la mineur</i> [A minor]		
61 (65)	IV, 23	<i>Prélude</i>
62 (66)	IV, 27	<i>Caprice</i>
63:1 (67)	V, 6	<i>Gigue</i>
63:2 (68)	V, 9	<i>La Sincope</i>
64 (69)	V, 7	<i>Mennuet</i> [followed by] <i>Double</i>
64-65 (70)	IV, 30-31	<i>La Sautillante</i> [followed by] <i>Double</i> [title of Double only in the table]
65 (71)	V, 1	<i>Prélude</i>
66 (72)	V, 12B	<i>Fantaisie</i>
73 (67)	V, 14	<i>Gigue la Mutine</i>
74-76 (68)	III, 13	<i>Grand Ballet</i>
<i>VIII^e Suite. F ut fa majeur</i> [F major]		
77:1 (69) ¹	V, 34	<i>Sarabande</i>
77:2 (70) ²	III, 27	<i>Fantaisie</i>
78:1 (71) ³	IV, 79	<i>Allemande la Singuliere</i>
78:2 (72)	III, 35	<i>Mennuet</i>
79:1 (73)	III, 36	<i>Mennuet</i>
79:2 (74)	V, 45	<i>Le toucher du</i> <i>Clavessin</i> [table: <i>Le Toucher du Clavecin</i>]
80 (75)	V, 41	<i>Rondeau le douxereux</i>

¹ Numbered 75 in the table.

² Numbered 76 in the table.

³ Numbered 77 in the table

81:1 (76)	V, 36	<i>Menuet</i>
81:2 (77)	V, 37-38	<i>Menuet</i> [followed by] <i>Double</i>
82-83 (78)	IV, 80	<i>L'Arabesque</i>
84 (79)	III, 39	<i>Bourasque</i>
<i>IX^e Suite. B fa si b mol</i> [B flat major]		
85 (80)	III, 60	<i>Fantaisie</i>
86 (81)	III, 62	<i>Allemande</i>
86-87 (82)	III, 70	<i>Gavotte du goût du Théorbe</i>
<i>X^e Suite. D la ré mineur</i> [D minor]		
87 (83)	I, 4	<i>Prélude</i>
88 (84)	II, 23	<i>Allemande</i>
89 (85)	I, 22	<i>Rondeau</i>
90 (86)	II, 12	<i>Gigue la Villeroi</i> [in print: <i>Gigue la favorite</i>]
91 (87)	IV, 7	<i>Rondeau</i>
92-93 (88)	II, 34	<i>Double Rondeau</i>
93 (89)	II, 22	<i>Prélude</i>
94-95 (90)	II, 14	<i>Caprice</i>
<i>XI^e Suite. G re sol majeur</i> [G major]		
95 (91)	III, 92	<i>Prélude</i>
96-97 (92)	V, 87	<i>Le Jeu du Volant</i>
97-98 (93)	II, 66-67	<i>Allemande</i> [followed by] <i>Double</i>
98-99 (94)	III, 98	<i>Courante</i>
99 (95)	III, 99	<i>Sarabande</i>
100 (96)	IV, 69	<i>Allemande p^r le Sujet Et Gigue p^r la Basse</i>
100-101 (97)	V, 78	<i>Gavotte</i>
101 (98)	V, 86	<i>Gigue La Pointilleuse</i>
102-103 (99)	V, 91	<i>Dialogue</i>
104-105 (100)	V, 88	<i>Allemande</i> [followed by] <i>Double</i>
106 (101)	V, 89	<i>Rondeau Le Villeneuve</i>
107 (102)	V, 90	<i>Le petit Badinage</i>
108-109 (103)	II, 82	<i>Chaconne en Rondeau</i>
<i>XII^e Suite. C sol ut</i> [C minor and major]		
110 (104)	III, 108	<i>Prélude</i>
110-111 (105)	III, 110-111	<i>Allemande</i> [followed by] <i>Double</i>
112:1 (106)	III, 119	<i>Menuet</i>
112:2 (107)	III, 133	<i>Mineur Menuet</i>
112-113 (108)	III, 124-125	<i>Fantaisie</i> [followed by] <i>Double</i>
114 (109)	III, 126	<i>Allemande</i>
115 (110)	III, 129	<i>Gigue</i>
116-117 (111)	IV, 72	<i>Muzette</i>
<i>XIII^e Suite. E si mi majeur</i> [E major]		
117 (112)	II, 111	<i>Prélude</i>
118 (113)	II, 112	<i>Allemande</i>
118-119 (114)	II, 114	<i>Courante</i>
119 (115)	II, 118	<i>Gigue</i>
120 (116)	II, 116	<i>Pavane</i> [subtitled in print: <i>selon le goût des anciens Compositeurs de luth</i>]
121:1 (117)	II, 119	<i>Gigue</i>
121:2 (118)	II, 123	<i>Rondeau en Vaudeville</i>
122-123 (119)	II, 120	<i>Rondeau Irrégulier</i>
124 (120)	II, 113	<i>Allemande</i> [subtitled <i>la Mignone</i> in print]
125-127 (121)	II, 124	<i>Chaconne</i>

XIV^e Suite. A mi la majeur [A major]

128 (122)	II, 125	<i>Prélude</i>
128-129 (123)	II, 127	<i>Caprice</i>
130:1 (124)	II, 126	<i>Allemande</i>
130:2 (125)	I, 60	<i>Courante la Montespan</i> [subtitle not in print]
131 (126)	IV, 42	<i>Rondeau l'Agréable</i>
132-133 (127)	III, 15-16	<i>Allemande</i> [followed by] <i>Double</i>
134:1 (128)	I, 57	<i>Boutade</i>
134:2 (129)	II, 137	<i>Mennet</i>
135:1 (130)	II, 129	<i>Courante</i>
135:2 (131)	I, 61	<i>Sarabande</i> <i>Le Mirtil</i> [subtitle not in print]
136 (132)	V, 21	<i>Marche Turque</i>
136-137 (133)	V, 27	<i>Fantaisie</i>
137 (134)	III, 24	<i>Rondeau</i>
138-139 (135)	II, 128	<i>Allemande</i> [followed by] <i>La même</i> <i>avec les agrements</i>
139 (136)	V, 19	<i>Sarabande</i>
140-141 (137)	IV, 74	<i>Chaconne du Labyrinthe</i>

XV^e Suite. D la ré mineur [D minor]

142:1 (138)	I, 2	<i>Fantaisie</i> [table: <i>Prélude</i>]
142:2 (139)	I, 12	<i>Sarabande</i>
143 (140)	IV, 77	<i>Allemande la Bizare</i>
144 (141)	I, 24	<i>Rondeau</i>
145:1 (142)	II, 26	<i>Courante</i>
145:2 (143)	II, 15	<i>Gavotte</i>
146 (144)	I, 26	<i>Gavotte en Rondeau</i>
147 (145)	II, 13	<i>Gigue</i>
148-153 (146)	II, 38	<i>Cloches ou Carrillon</i> [followed by] <i>Le Carrillon avec les agréments</i>

XVI^e Suite. D la ré majeur [D major]

154 (147)	III, 40	<i>Prélude</i>
154-155 (148)	II, 45-46	<i>Allemande</i> [followed by] <i>Double</i>
156:1 (149)	II, 52	<i>Courante</i>
156:2 (150)	II, 54	<i>Sarabande</i>
157:1 (151)	V, 50	<i>Gigue</i>
157:2 (152)	V, 51	<i>Gavotte</i>
158 (153)	V, 54-55	<i>La Fromental</i> [followed by] <i>Double</i>
159 (154)	II, 43	<i>Fantaisie</i>
160-161 (155)	II, 47-48	<i>Allemande</i> [subtitled <i>la familiere</i> in print; followed by] <i>Double</i>
162-163 (156)	IV, 76	<i>La Foucade</i> [table: <i>La Foucade</i>]
163 (157)	IV, 75	<i>La Sauterelle</i>
164 (158)	I, 39	<i>Gigue</i>
164-165 (159)	I, 34	<i>Courante</i>
165:1 (160)	V, 52	<i>Mennet</i>
165:2 (161)	V, 53	<i>2^e Mennet</i>
166 (162)	I, 29	<i>Fantaisie</i>
167 (163)	V, 62	<i>Rondeau le Brillant</i>
168-169 (164)	I, 41	<i>La Paysane</i> [followed by] <i>Double</i> [not in print]
170-171 (165)	V, 58	<i>Fantaisie</i> [followed by] <i>Double</i>
172 (166)	V, 59	<i>Allemande la Dornel</i>
173 (167)	I, 40	<i>Gigue</i>
174-175 (168)	I, 42	<i>Rondeau</i>
176-177 (169)	II, 64	<i>Chaconne</i>
178-179 (170)	201	<i>La Siamoise</i>

XVII^e Suite. F ut fa dièze [F sharp minor]

181 (171)	IV, 83	<i>Marche</i>
182 (172)	I, 85	<i>Allemande</i>

183 (173)	IV, 84	<i>Gigue</i>
184 (174)	IV, 85	<i>Piece Luthée</i>
185 (175)	I, 90	<i>Rondeau</i>
186 (176)	I, 88	<i>Gigue</i>
188-193 (177)	I, 91	<i>Fantaisie</i> [table: <i>Fantaisie en B fa sol</i>] [followed by] <i>La même avec les agréments</i> [title in the table only] <i>Pieces a trois Viole Second Dessus</i> <i>I.^{re} Suite. D la ré majeur</i> [D major]
198-199 (178)	IV, 88	<i>Prelude</i>
200 (179)	IV, 89	<i>Allemande</i>
200-201 (180)	IV, 90	<i>Courante</i>
201:1 (181)	IV, 91	<i>Menuet</i>
201:2 (182)	IV, 92	<i>Sarabande</i>
202 (183)	IV, 93	<i>Gigue</i>
203:1 (184)	IV, 94	<i>Gavotte</i>
203:2 (185)	IV, 95	<i>Petite Paysane</i>
		<i>II^e Suite. G re sol majeur</i> [G major]
204 (186)	IV, 96	<i>Rondeau</i>
205-207 (187)	IV, 97	<i>Prélude</i>
208:1 (188)	IV, 98	<i>Allemande</i>
208:2 (189)	IV, 99	<i>Courante</i>
209:1 (190)	IV, 100	<i>Paysane gracieuse</i>
209:2 (191)	IV, 101	<i>Sarabande</i>
210 (192)	IV, 102	<i>Gigue</i>
211 (193)	IV, 103	<i>Gavotte</i>
212 (194)	IV, 104	<i>Rondeau</i>
212-213 (195)	IV, 105	<i>Muzette</i>
214:1 (197-196)	IV, 106-107	<i>Muzette</i> [followed by] <i>Double</i>
214:2 (198)	IV, 108	<i>Menuet</i> <i>Muzette</i> [table: <i>Menuet</i>]
215-222 (-)	I, 92	[<i>Diversités</i>] [no title in source]
223-225 (199)	I, 82	<i>Chaconne a 2 violes. 2^e Dessus</i> [title in table only]
226-229 (200)	VdGS 213	<i>Sonnerie de S^{te} Geneviève du Mont</i> [title in table only]

APPENDIX C

Tabulated list of Marais' works in Villeneuve's manuscripts

A: F-Pn Gf. Rés. Vma ms. 94 (bass viol and unfigured bass, in score)

B: F-Pn Vm⁷ 6275 (partbook for pardessus de viole, without bass, 1759)

C: F-Pn Vm⁷ 1107 (two pardessus de violes and figured bass, in score, 1762)

Titles in the second column are from the printed books.

VdGS	Title	A, p.	B, p. (no.)	C, p.
I, 2	<i>Prelude</i>		142:1 (138)	
I, 4	<i>Prelude</i>		87 (83)	
I, 6	<i>Allemande</i>	192-193	23-24 (27)	
I, 12	<i>Sarabande</i>		142:2 (139)	
I, 15	<i>Sarabande</i>	130	25:1 (28)	
I, 22	<i>Rondeau</i>		89 (85)	
I, 24	<i>Rondeau</i>		144 (141)	
I, 26	<i>Gavotte en Rondeau</i>		146 (144)	
I, 28	<i>Prelude</i>	166-167	1 (1)	
I, 29	<i>Fantaisie</i>		166 (162)	
I, 31	<i>Allemande</i>	170-171		
I, 34	<i>Courante</i>		164-165 (159)	
I, 37	<i>Sarabande</i>	178-179		
I, 39	<i>Gigue</i>		164 (158)	
I, 40	<i>Gigue</i>		173 (167)	
I, 41	<i>La paysane</i>		168-169 (164)	
I, 42	<i>Rondeau</i>	168-169	174-175 (168)	
I, 43	<i>Gavotte</i>		8:1 (8)	
I, 44	<i>Menuet</i>		7:2 (7)	
I, 47	<i>Chaconne</i>	162-167	10-13 (12)	
I, 49	<i>Allemande</i>	76-77	34-35 (36)	
I, 50	<i>Courante</i>	51		
I, 51	<i>Sarabande</i>		36:2 (39)	
I, 57	<i>Boutade</i>		134:1 (128)	
I, 60	<i>Courante</i>		130:2 (125)	
I, 61	<i>Sarabande</i>	296-297	135:2 (131)	
I, 65	<i>Rondeau</i>	289-291		
I, 71	<i>Gavotte</i>			215:1
I, 72	<i>Menuet</i>			215:2
I, 73	<i>Prelude</i>			201
I, 74	<i>Allemande</i>			201 [202]
I, 75	<i>Courante</i>			202 [203]
I, 76	<i>Sarabande</i>			204
I, 77	<i>Gigue</i>			204-205
I, 78	<i>Gavotte en rondeau</i>			208-209
I, 79	<i>Menuet</i>			206:1
I, 80	<i>Gavotte</i>			206:2
I, 81	<i>Fantaisie en echo</i>			206-207
I, 82	<i>Chaconne</i>		223-225 (199)	210-214
I, 84	<i>Prelude</i>	248-249		
I, 85	<i>Allemande</i>	250-251	182 (172)	
I, 87	<i>Sarabande</i>	256		

I, 88	<i>Gigue</i>	252-253	186 (176)
I, 90	<i>Rondeau</i>		185 (175)
I, 91	<i>Fantaisie</i>	198-201	188–193 (177)
I, 92	<i>Diversitez</i>		215–222 (-)
I, 93	<i>Rondeau</i>	53-54	
II, 1	<i>Prelude</i>	150-151	
II, 7	<i>Allemande</i>	151-152	
II, 12	<i>Gigue la favorite</i>		90 (86)
II, 13	<i>Gigue</i>		147 (145)
II, 14	<i>Caprice</i>	134-135	94–95 (90)
II, 15	<i>Gavotte</i>		145:2 (143)
II, 17	<i>Menuet</i>	194	
II, 19	<i>Ballet en rondeau</i>	126-129	30–31 (33)
II, 21	<i>Prelude</i>	118-121	
II, 22	<i>Prelude</i>		93 (89)
II, 23	<i>Allemande</i>		88 (84)
II, 24	<i>Allemande</i>	122-123	
II, 25	<i>Courante</i>	133	
II, 26	<i>Courante</i>		145:1 (142)
II, 28	<i>Sarabande</i>	158	
II, 29	<i>Boutade</i>	152-153	22 (26)
II, 30	<i>Fantaisie luthée</i>	125	
II, 32-33	<i>Gigue and Double</i>	130-132	26–27 (30)
II, 34	<i>Double rondeau</i>		92–93 (88)
II, 37	<i>Rondeau champêtre</i>	154-155	28–29 (31)
II, 38	<i>Cloches ou Carillon</i>	145-149	148–153 (146)
II, 40	<i>La polonoise</i>	136-139	
II, 43	<i>Fantaisie</i>		158 (154)
II, 45-46	<i>Allemande and Double</i>		154–155 (148)
II, 47-48	<i>Allemande la familiere and Double</i>		160–161 (155)
II, 49-50	<i>Allemande and Double</i>		4–5 (3)
II, 51	<i>Courante</i>		6:1 (4)
II, 52	<i>Courante</i>		156:1 (149)
II, 53	<i>Sarabande</i>		6:2 (5)
II, 54	<i>Sarabande</i>		156:2 (150)
II, 55	<i>Gigue</i>		7:1 (6)
II, 56	<i>Gigue a l'angloise</i>	172-173	8:2 (9)
II, 58	<i>Rondeau</i>	174	
II, 59	<i>La vilageoise</i>	188-189	
II, 63	<i>Les Voix humaines</i>	175	
II, 64	<i>Chaconne</i>	140-143	176–177 (169)
II, 65	<i>Prelude</i>	100-102	37–39 (41)
II, 66-67	<i>Allemande and Double</i>		97–98 (93)
II, 69	<i>Courante</i>	85	
II, 70	<i>Sarabande la désolée</i>	87	
II, 72	<i>Sarab^{te}</i>		40:1 (42)
II, 73	<i>Gigue la badine</i>	106-107	
II, 76	<i>Rondeau</i>	116-117	
II, 80	<i>Rondeau Champêtre</i>	104	
II, 81	<i>Prelude</i>	82	
II, 82	<i>Chaconne en Rondeau</i>	88-91	108–109 (103)
II, 83	<i>Prelude</i>		14:1 (13)
II, 84	<i>Petite fantaisie</i>		14:2 (14)
II, 85	<i>Allemande</i>	202-203	15 (15)
II, 86	<i>Allemande</i>		18 (19)
II, 87	<i>Courante</i>		16 (16)
II, 88	<i>Sarabande</i>		17:1 (17)
II, 89	<i>Sarabande</i>		19:1 (20)

II, 90	<i>Gigue</i>		17:2 (18)
II, 91	<i>Gigue</i>	206	19:2 (21)
II, 92	<i>Menuet</i>		20:1 (22)
II, 93	<i>Gavotte</i>		20:2 (23)
II, 94	<i>Menuet</i>		20:2 (24)
II, 98	<i>Allemande</i>	4-5	
II, 100	<i>Sarabande</i>		54:1 (58)
II, 102	<i>Gigue</i>	21-22	53 (57)
II, 104	<i>Rondeau Champêtre</i>	3-4	
II, 105	<i>Passacaille</i>		52 (56)
II, 106	<i>Gavotte</i>	33	
II, 109	<i>Tombeau pour M^r de S^{te} Colombe</i>		49 (51)
II, 110	<i>Fugue gaye</i>	16-17	
II, 111	<i>Prelude</i>		117 (112)
II, 112	<i>Allemande</i>		118 (113)
II, 113	<i>Allemande la Mignone</i>		124 (120)
II, 114	<i>Courante</i>		118–119 (114)
II, 116	<i>Pavane selon le goût des anciens</i> <i>Compositeurs de luth</i>	24-25	120 (116)
II, 118	<i>Gigue</i>		119 (115)
II, 119	<i>Gigue</i>		121:1 (117)
II, 120	<i>Rondeau Irregulier</i>		122–123 (119)
II, 123	<i>Rondeau en Vaudeville</i>		121:2 (118)
II, 124	<i>Chaconne</i>	29-32	125–127 (121)
II, 125	<i>Prelude</i>		128 (122)
II, 126	<i>Allemande</i>		130:1 (124)
II, 127	<i>Boutade</i>	298-299	128–129 (123)
II, 128	<i>Allemande</i>	292-295	138–139 (135)
II, 129	<i>Courante</i>		135:1 (130)
II, 132	<i>La gracieuse</i>	300-301	
II, 134	<i>Gigue</i>	302-303	
II, 135	<i>Gavotte</i>	322	
II, 136	<i>Menuet</i>	323:1	
II, 137	<i>Menuet</i>	323:2	134:2 (129)
II, 138	<i>Bransle de Village</i>	321	
II, 142	<i>Fantaisie</i>	324-328	
III, 1	<i>Fantaisie</i>	283	
III, 2	<i>Allemande</i>	261	
III, 3	<i>Courante</i>	266	
III, 5	<i>Gigue</i>	273	
III, 11	<i>Prelude</i>	260	
III, 13	<i>Grand Ballet</i>	274-277	74–76 (68)
III, 15-16	<i>Allemande and Double</i>		132–133 (127)
III, 19	<i>Gavotte</i>	303	
III, 20	<i>Gigue L'inconstante</i>	318-319	
III, 24	<i>Rondeau</i>		137 (134)
III, 25	<i>Allemande la Gotique</i>	306	
III, 26	<i>Prelude</i>	232	
III, 27	<i>Fantaisie</i>		77:2 (70)
III, 28	<i>Allemande</i>	219	
III, 30	<i>Courante</i>	225	
III, 34	<i>Gigue</i>	228-229	
III, 35	<i>Menuet</i>		78:2 (72)
III, 36	<i>2^e Menuet</i>		79:1 (73)
III, 37	<i>Rondeau</i>	243-245	
III, 38	<i>Chaconne</i>	246-247	
III, 39	<i>Bourasque</i>		84 (79)
III, 40	<i>Prelude</i>		154 (147)

III, 44	<i>Sarabande</i>		9 (11)
III, 48	<i>Bourée Paysane</i>	158-159	
III, 50	<i>Petit Rondeau</i>	195	
III, 54	<i>Rondeau</i>	183-185	
III, 56	<i>Chaconne</i>	179-181	
III, 57	<i>La Brillante</i>	176-177	
III, 58	<i>Charivary</i>	196-197	2-3 (2)
III, 59	<i>Prelude</i>	207	
III, 60	<i>Fantaisie</i>		85 (80)
III, 61	<i>Allemande</i>	208	
III, 62	<i>2^e Allemande</i>		86 (81)
III, 65	<i>Sarabande</i>	210	
III, 67	<i>2^e Gigue</i>	209	
III, 68	<i>Gavotte</i>	211	
III, 70	<i>Gavotte du goust du Theorbe que l'on peut pincer si l'on veut</i>	214	86-87 (82)
III, 71	<i>Rondeau</i>	212-213	
III, 72- 73	<i>Bourée Paysane</i>	215	
III, 75	<i>2^e Menuet</i>	216-217	
III, 76	<i>Prelude</i>	62	32 (34)
III, 77	<i>Caprice</i>		32-33 (35)
III, 78	<i>Allemande</i>	62-63	
III, 79	<i>Courante</i>	64	
III, 82	<i>Gigue la Chicane</i>	68-69	
III, 83	<i>2^e Gigue</i>	70	
III, 84	<i>Rondeau louré</i>	65-67	
III, 85	<i>Gavotte</i>	57	
III, 88	<i>Menuet Fantasque</i>	71	
III, 90	<i>Fugue Gaye</i>	48-50	
III, 91	<i>Le Moulinet</i>	59-61	
III, 92	<i>Prelude</i>		95 (91)
III, 93	<i>Caprice</i>	82-83	
III, 96- 97	<i>Allemande La Magnifique and Double</i>	84-85	42-43 (46)
III, 98	<i>Courante</i>	103	98-99 (94)
III, 99	<i>Sarabande Grave</i>		99 (95)
III, 100	<i>Gigue a L'angloise</i>	86-87	
III, 102	<i>Gavotte</i>	115	
III, 104	<i>Menuet le Cor de Chasse</i>	110-111	
III, 105	<i>La Muzette</i>	92-93	
III, 106	<i>2^e Muzette</i>	94-96	
III, 107	<i>La Guitare</i>	97-99	44-45 (47)
III, 108	<i>Prelude</i>		110 (104)
III, 110- 111	<i>Allemande and Double</i>		110-111 (105)
III, 112	<i>Sarabande</i>	332	
III, 113	<i>Sarabande en Rondeau</i>	340	
III, 116	<i>Gigue</i>	330-331	
III, 119	<i>2^e Menuet</i>	341	112:1 (106)
III, 120- 121	<i>Saillie du Caffé and Double</i>	332-334	
III, 122	<i>Chaconne</i>	344-346	
III, 123	<i>Prelude</i>	329	
III, 124- 125	<i>Fantaisie and Double</i>		112-113 (108)
III, 126	<i>Allemande</i>	329-330	114 (109)
III, 127	<i>Courante</i>	335	
III, 129	<i>Gigue</i>		115 (110)

III, 130	<i>Rondeau</i>	336-337	
III, 133	<i>2^e Menuet</i>		112:2 (107)
III, 134	<i>Les Contrefaiseurs</i>	342-343	
IV, 1	<i>Prelude</i>		21 (25)
IV, 6	<i>Gigue la petite</i>	156-157	
IV, 7	<i>Rondeau</i>		91 (87)
IV, 8	<i>Prelude</i>	181-182	
IV, 11	<i>Boutade</i>	186	8-9 (10)
IV, 12	<i>Gavotte la Favorite</i>	186-187	
IV, 13	<i>La petite Brillante</i>	191	
IV, 14	<i>Rondeau le Gracieux</i>	190-191	
IV, 15	<i>Prelude</i>	218	
IV, 18	<i>Gigue</i>	239	
IV, 21	<i>La Provençale</i>	237-238	
IV, 22	<i>Chaconne</i>	222-225	
IV, 23	<i>Prelude</i>		61 (65)
IV, 24	<i>Allemande</i>	282	
IV, 26	<i>Gigue</i>	267	
IV, 27	<i>Caprice</i>		62 (66)
IV, 28	<i>Muzette</i>	268:1	
IV, 29	<i>2^e Muzette</i>	268:2	
IV, 30-31	<i>La Sautillante and Double</i>	269	64-65 (70)
IV, 32	<i>Rondeau Louré</i>	262-264	
IV, 33	<i>Prelude</i>	292	
IV, 42	<i>Rondeau l'Agreable</i>	319-320	131 (126)
IV, 45	<i>Prelude</i>	15	
IV, 46	<i>Fantaisie</i>		46:1 (48)
IV, 48	<i>Sarabande a l'Espagnol</i>	7	
IV, 49	<i>Gigue la Piquante</i>	2	
IV, 51	<i>Rondeau Pajsan</i>	23	
IV, 55B	<i>Marche Tartare</i>	40	
IV, 56	<i>Allemande</i>	41	
IV, 57	<i>Sarabande</i>	42	
IV, 58-59	<i>La Tartarine and Double</i>	43	
IV, 60	<i>Gavotte</i>	44-45	
IV, 61	<i>Feste Champêtre</i>	11-14	58-60 (64)
IV, 62	<i>Gigue la Fleselle</i>		47 (50)
IV, 63	<i>Rondeau le Bijou</i>	18	50-51 (55)
IV, 65	<i>L'Uniforme voir s'il y a les suites</i>	6	56:1 (61)
IV, 68	<i>L'Ameriquaine</i>	26-28	
IV, 69	<i>Allemande pour le Sujet; et Gigue pour la Basse</i>		100 (96)
IV, 70	<i>Allemande L'Asmatique</i>	104-105	
IV, 71	<i>La Tourneuse</i>	109	
IV, 72	<i>Muzette</i>	338-339	116-117 (111)
IV, 73	<i>Caprice ou Sonate</i>	278-281	
IV, 74	<i>Le Labyrinthe</i>	306-313	140-141 (137)
IV, 75	<i>La Sauterelle</i>	124	163 (157)
IV, 76	<i>La Fougade</i>		162-163 (156)
IV, 77	<i>Allemande la Bizare</i>		143 (140)
IV, 78	<i>La Minaudiere</i>	144-145	
IV, 79	<i>Allemande la Singuliere</i>	240-241	78:1 (71)
IV, 80	<i>L'Arabesque</i>	230-231	82-83 (78)
IV, 81	<i>Allemande la Superbe</i>	236	
IV, 82	<i>La Revense</i>	221-222	
IV, 83	<i>Marche</i>	254	181 (171)

IV, 84	<i>Gigue</i>	257	183 (173)	
IV, 85	<i>Piece Luthée</i>	255	184 (174)	
IV, 87	<i>Le Badinage</i>	258-259		
IV, 88	<i>Prelude</i>		198-199 (178)	174-177
IV, 89	<i>Allemande</i>		200 (179)	178
IV, 90	<i>Courante</i>		200-201 (180)	179
IV, 91	<i>Menuet</i>		201:1 (181)	180:1
IV, 92	<i>Sarabande</i>		201:2 (182)	180:2
IV, 93	<i>Gigue</i>		202 (183)	181
IV, 94	<i>Gavotte</i>		203:1 (184)	182
IV, 95	<i>Petite Paysane</i>		203:2 (185)	183
IV, 96	<i>Rondeau</i>		204 (186)	184-185
IV, 97	<i>Caprice</i>		205-207 (187)	186-190
IV, 98	<i>Allemande</i>		208:1 (188)	191
IV, 99	<i>Courante</i>		208:2 (189)	192
IV, 100	<i>Paysane Gracieuse</i>		209:1 (190)	192-193
IV, 101	<i>Sarabande</i>		209:2 (191)	193
IV, 102	<i>Gigue</i>		210 (192)	194
IV, 103	<i>Gavotte</i>		211 (193)	195
IV, 104	<i>Rondeau</i>		212 (194)	196-197
IV, 105	<i>Muzette</i>		212-213 (195)	198-199
IV, 106-107	<i>Muzette and Double</i>		214:1 (197-196)	199
IV, 108	<i>Menuet Muzette</i>		214:2 (198)	200:2
V, 1	<i>Prelude, le Soligni</i>		65 (71)	
V, 3	<i>Sarabande</i>	287		
V, 4	<i>La Mariée</i>	265		
V, 6	<i>Gigue</i>		63:1 (67)	
V, 7	<i>Menuet and Double</i>		64 (69)	
V, 9	<i>La Sincopé</i>	262	63:2 (68)	
V, 11	<i>Rondeau</i>	284-285		
V, 12B	<i>Fantaisie</i>		66 (72)	
V, 13	<i>Grande Gavotte</i>	288		
V, 14	<i>Gigue la Mutine</i>	286	73 (67)	
V, 19	<i>Sarabande</i>		139 (136)	
V, 21	<i>Marche a la Turque</i>	314	136 (132)	
V, 27	<i>Fantaisie</i>		136-137 (133)	
V, 28	<i>Grand Rondeau</i>	315-317		
V, 29-30	<i>La Babillarde and Double</i>	304-305		
V, 34	<i>Sarabande</i>		77:1 (69)	
V, 36	<i>Menuet</i>		81:1 (76)	
V, 37-38	<i>2^e Menuet and Double</i>		81:2 (77)	
V, 40	<i>Rondeau Paysan</i>	233-235		
V, 41	<i>Rondeau le douxereux</i>		80 (75)	
V, 42	<i>Idée Grotesque</i>	226-227		
V, 44	<i>Les Forgerons</i>	220-221		
V, 45	<i>Le toucher du Claveçin</i>		79:2 (74)	
V, 46	<i>Prelude en barpegement</i>	242		
V, 50	<i>Gigue</i>		157:1 (151)	
V, 51	<i>Gavotte</i>		157:2 (152)	
V, 52	<i>Menuet</i>		165:1 (160)	
V, 53	<i>2^e Menuet</i>		165:2 (161)	
V, 54-55	<i>La Fromental and Double</i>	171-172	158 (153)	
V, 58	<i>Fantaisie and Double</i>		170-171 (165)	
V, 59	<i>Allemande la Dornel</i>		172 (166)	
V, 62	<i>Rondeau Le Brillant</i>		167 (163)	
V, 66	<i>Sarabande</i>	58		
V, 67	<i>Gigue la Pagode</i>	54-55		
V, 68	<i>Gavotte</i>		36:1 (38)	

V, 69	<i>Menuet</i>		35 (37)
V, 70	<i>Allemande La Marianne</i>	52	36–37 (40)
V, 71	<i>Le tombeau pour Marais le Cadet</i>	46–47	
V, 73	<i>La Georgienne dite la Maupertuy</i>	56	
V, 75	<i>Allemande La Fiere</i>		40:2 (43)
V, 76	<i>Sarabande</i>		41:2 (45)
V, 78	<i>Gavotte</i>		41:1 (44)
			100–101 (97)
V, 82	<i>Rondeau le Troilleur</i>	72–73	
V, 84	<i>La Tatillone</i>	108–109	
V, 85	<i>Saillie du Jardin</i>	112	
V, 86	<i>Gigue la pointilleuse</i>		101 (98)
V, 87	<i>Le Jeu du Volant</i>	74–75	96–97 (92)
V, 88	<i>L'Allemande Poisat</i>	112–115	104–105 (100)
V, 89	<i>Le Rondeau Villeneuve</i>		106 (101)
V, 90	<i>Le petit badinage</i>	117	107 (102)
V, 91	<i>Dialogue</i>		102–103 (99)
V, 93	<i>Allemande La Beuron</i>	20–21	
V, 94	<i>La Simplicité Paysanne</i>	28	
V, 96	<i>Gavotte Singuliere</i>		54:2 (59)
V, 98	<i>Sarabande</i>		46:2 (49)
V, 102	<i>Marche Persane dite la Savigny</i>	1	55 (60)
V, 103	<i>Rondeau Le Plaisant</i>		56–57 (62)
V, 104	<i>Gigue la resoliue</i>	8–9	
V, 105	<i>Les Amusements</i>	10	57 (63)
V, 109	<i>Les Relevailles</i>		49 (52)
V, 110	<i>Suite</i>		57 (53)
V, 111	<i>Suite</i>		50:2 (54)
V, 112	<i>La Poitevine</i>	78–81	
V, 113	<i>La Paraza</i>		25:2 (29)
V, 114	<i>Le Tact</i>	160–161	29 (32)
213	<i>Sonnerie de Ste Geneviève du Mont</i>	200	
201	<i>La Siamoise</i>	270–272	178–179 (170)
–	<i>Rondeau</i>	34–37	
–	<i>Muzette</i>	38–39	
–	<i>Rondeau</i>	204–205	
–	<i>Tempeste</i> (from <i>Alcyone</i> , act 4, scene 4) ⁴		216–217

⁴ For *pardessus de viole* and two bass viols. Copy from the engraved score: *Alcyone, tragedie*, (Paris, 1706), 177–181 (RISM A/I M 377).

APPENDIX D

List of pieces of the ‘Sibley Book’ with manuscript performance markings with
their concordances in the Villeneuve manuscripts

VdGS	Title	Gf. Rés. Vma ms. 94	Vm ⁷ 6275
II, 14	<i>Caprice</i>	134–135	94–95 (90)
II, 19	<i>Ballet en Rondeau</i>	126–129	30–31 (33)
II, 24	<i>Allemande</i>	122–123	
II, 25	<i>Courante</i>	133	
II, 32	<i>Gigue</i>	130–132	26–27 (30)
II, 37	<i>Rondeau Champêtre</i>	154–155	28–29 (31)
II, 38	<i>Cloches ou Carillon</i>	145–149	148–153 (146)
II, 40	<i>La polonoise</i>	136–139	
II, 56	<i>Gigue à l’angloise</i>	172–173	8:2 (9)
II, 63	<i>Les Voix humaines</i>	175	
II, 64	<i>Chaconne</i>	140–143	176–177 (169)
II, 65	<i>Prelude</i>	100–102	37–39 (41)
II, 82	<i>Chaconne en Rondeau</i>	88–91	108–109 (103)
II, 98	<i>Allemande</i>	4–5	
II, 124	<i>Chaconne</i>	29–32	125–127 (121)
II, 127	<i>Boutade</i>	298–299	128–129 (123)
II, 128	<i>Allemande</i>	292–295	138–139 (135)
II, 132	<i>La gracieuse</i>	300–301	
II, 134	<i>Gigue</i>	302–303	
II, 135	<i>Gavotte</i>	322	
II, 136	<i>Menuet</i>	323:1	
II, 137	<i>Menuet</i>	323:2	134:2 (129)

APPENDIX E

List of terms in Villeneuve's manuscript

F-Pn Gf. Rés. Vma ms. 94 (bass viol and unfigured bass, in score)

NB The French has been modernised for convenience.

Alternative possibilities

autre manière

le même mouvement

ou séparé

ou bien séparé

ou bien coulé de deux en deux

ou enl

redoublez des 2 façons

variété

variété pour le commencement

Bow instructions

archet collé

arpégez

arpégé ou en plain

appuyez sur les poussés

b

coups tapés

coups d'archet nourris

court

d.b.

de la pointe de l'archet

détaché

détaché et nourri

détaché et un petit silence entre chaque accord

doux forcez

e

en plein

en plein ou arpégez

en séparé

enl

enl. étouffé

enl hardi

el sout

enl ou filé
enl. moelleux et nourris
enflés peu à peu
et ainsi du reste en plein
étouffé
grands coups d'archet
gs
jeté
jeté étouffé
jeté moelleux
jeté petit
jeté sout
jeté 3
les accords en plein
notes d'un seul coup d'archet
p
petit détaché
petit jeté
petits bondissants
petits bondissants détachés
petits coups
petits coups détachés
petits coups lutés
petits coups séparés
petits coups tapés
petits coups secs et tapés
petits coups détachés pendant toute la pièce
petit enlevés
petits enlevés moelleux
petit jeté
plaquez
plaquez les accords
plaques les accords et petit coup sec sur les simples noires
sec
sec petit
séparé
sout.
tirez de grands sons

Bow/ornamentation/rhythm/tempo and or dynamic combined

arpégez et redoublez
b sans sup

doux et petit coup
doux et trainé
doux et petits coups d'archet
petit cadence en l'air
petits bondissants doux
petits coups détachés au simples
pointez et pesez sur les basses
tapé et nourri
tapé et détaché
trainé et augmentez peu à peu

Character/musical indications

affectueusement
animé
badinez légèrement
donnez aux basses un son de cloche
doux et détaché
doux et filé
doux et négligemment
faites bien sonner les basses
fièrement
filé
filé animez
filé doux
filé étouffé
filé ou jeté
filés
filez toutes les noires
forcez
fort animé
fort et animé
fort et appuyez sur les basses
fort et filé
fort et grands coups d'archet
fort et trainé
fort et nourri
fort et détaché
fort et tapé
fort détaché et nourri
fort et grands coups d'archet
hardi
louré

louré et filé
luté
majeur
moins fort
nourri
pesamment
pesés
pesez sur les basses
petit
petit b
petit et détaché
petit et pointé
petit silence
piqué
ranimez
redoublez
tendrement
trainé
très court
un peu filé
un peu pointé

Dynamic instructions

augmentez peu à peu
doux et ainsi alternativement
cous et ainsi du reste
doux et augmentez peu et peu
plus fort
très doux

Indication for repeats

1^e Manière
1 fois enlevé
adagio la 2^e fois
b au simple
cad pour la 2^e fois
cadence au simple
détaché et nourri au simple
doux et détaché au simple
e au simple
filés la 2^e fois
filé au simple

fort et grands coups d'archet au simple
grands coups d'archet au simple
jeté au simple
l'autre batterie la 2. fois
la plainte ne se fait qu'au simple
les cadences sont pour la 2e fois
les cadences sont pour le simple
les doigt sont pour le simple
louré au simple
petits bondissants au simple
petits coups tapés au simple
point de liaison au simple
redoublez pour la 2e fois
sed la 1e fois
sup au simple
tapé au simple
variété pour la reprise
variété pour la 2e fois
variété pour le commencement de la reprise

Miscellaneous

et ainsi du reste
petit silence
petit silence entre chaque pointée et la double croche.
posez les accords en même temps
ppd

Ornamentation instructions

battement court
ca. 2
cad 3
cadence brillante
cadence brillante sans supposition
cadence courte
cadence molle
cadences en l'air
doublez
doublez des 2 façons
doubles toutes les façons
petite sup
petit sup douce et gracieuse
plainte lente

plainte vive
sans supposition
sup.
sup douce
sup courte
sup gracieuse
sup majeure
sup moelleuse
sup tendre
sup de 2

Rythmic instructions

ces quatre notes égales
comme une double croche
également
notes égales
pointez un peu

Tempo indications

adagio
vivement

APPENDIX F

List of terms used in the ‘Sibley Book’ with manuscript performance markings

Bow instructions

ap
arp
b
c
e
enl
ex
fil
filé
g
jt
plein

Character/musical indications

flaté
lou
lour
m
mar
mol
mord
pe
pes
piq
sec
sou
sout
t
tap

Rythmic instructions

point
pointés

Uncertain

ar

as

as s.

b. r.

b. s.

det

do

fil s.

g. m.

g; mo.

mo

mo. s.

prep

pro. s.

r

s.c

sac

sc

sup

ta

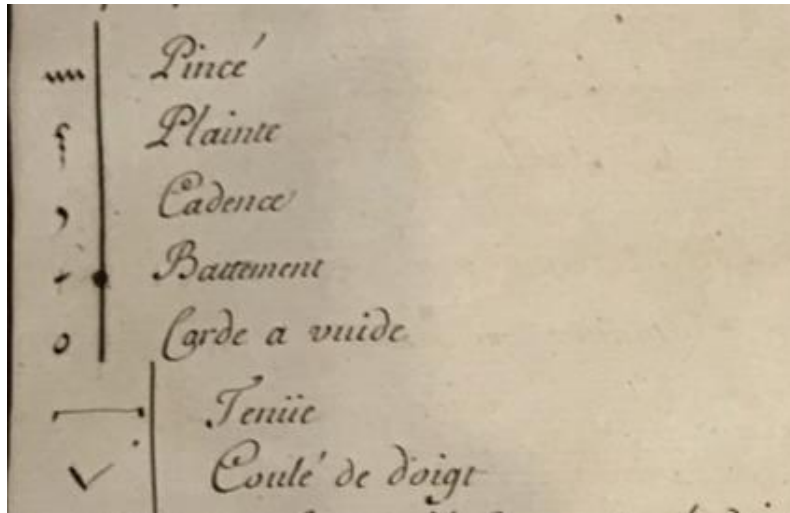
APPENDIX G

Translation of the Exploratory Table from F-Pn Gf. Rés. Vma ms. 94
(bass viol and unfigured bass, in score)

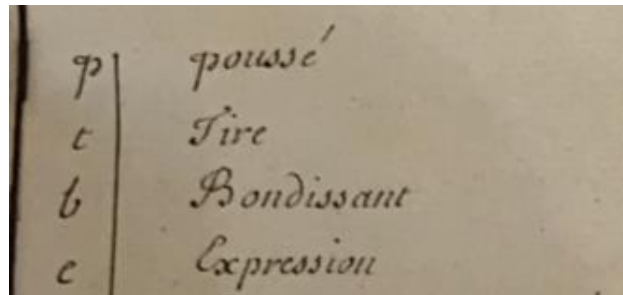
Explanation of the characters that we used to mark the ornaments

1.2.3.4 indicate the fingers which one must use. The points which are indicated above or below the figures indicate which string one must use.

The two points on the side of the number .1. .4. indicate that one must bar the finger.



ppd indicates that one must pass the finger over or under. It therefore serves to keep a hole which could happen while moving one finger from one string to another.



/ This sign marks that one should arpeggiate. That is to say separate the notes of a chord by starting with the bass and continuing to the upper voice.

Sup Signifies that one must make a supposition at the cadence and when it occurs with an e or a b written over it, it is a mark that the supposition should be accompanied by an expression or a bondissant.

DB. These two letters are under a chord to indicate that one should spend more time on the bass before going to the upper note

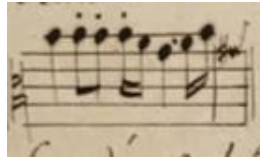
gs These two letters indicate that when one has a chord on must not stop on the bass and go directly to the top note and make it the principal note.

en plein - This term which is found above some chords indicates that one must play all the notes of the chord at the same time instead of arpeggiating them.

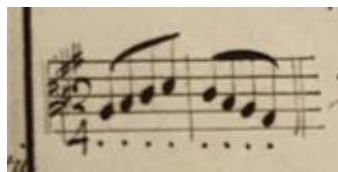
enl enlevé



These points as written indicate that one must fill the hole between the subject and the bass to avoid bad sounds, and this almost always by a Major Third or a minor one, and sometimes the fourth or the sixth, depending on the occasion. Which is very essential for the harmony.



These points displayed above several slurred notes indicate that one must articulate with a single bow stroke as if they were with different ones.



These points above or below non-slurred eighth notes indicate that one must perform them equal instead of unequally.

Anatomy of a Tablebook

David Pinto

“The dog did nothing in the night-time.”

“That was the curious incident,” remarked Sherlock Holmes. (The Adventure of Silver Blaze)

British Library Additional MS 31390 gives peerless access to a mid-Elizabethan wordless repertoire. Inserted dates, a rarity, may signal its completion *c.*1578. It sets parts around single openings, in a ‘tablebook’ form that English print took to only in 1597.¹ Partbook sets can match its count of 131 items, numbering a bipartite eight as four; but it once had more. One hand (also fairly rare) copied all but for two, of over a decade later. Another unusual touch is of title-pages, describing content, but not quite; small help in titrating lost segments. What remains though is intact, nearly a third unique: little of the rest percolated into the Stuart era. A decided query is its representativeness for period, set against common, maybe more normative partbooks. In Nomine à4 with a prosthetic fifth line is an example; a transient stage, found here mostly. Did older Flemish additive practices, typical of a writer favoured by this copyist, prompt it? Key idiosyncrasies in copying procedures and a high degree of system combine in a firm pattern; but scrutinising that in granular detail makes for a dull brew. It may add slight zest to pose it as a riddle, opaque as any ever to fox Dr Watson yet yield to the sagacity of Holmes. *Absences* are clues that betray an aim: to *restrict* functional control or access. Percussing those non-organic resonant cavities in this corpus—so to speak—and palpating its solid parts, the musical content, provide soundings for re-articulating it as a whole, and in context.

It seems intended for training the young, and pastime; maybe it called on singers, if textless repertoires were widely solmised, as some hold.² A batch of chansons exudes nostalgia: many now unique, all obsolescent by 1575.³ Those ascribed to ‘m^r Philippes’, Philip van Wilder (d. 1554), may have been felt native produce. Given lack of underlay, its cold shoulder to Italian writers is in pointed contrast. Even Alfonso Ferrabosco I (resident again in England by 1572) figures just once, and then for a chanson à6.⁴ This somehow resistant ambience contrasts with

¹ John Dowland *First Booke of Songes*; Thomas Morley *A Plaine and Easie Introduction* sigs. Bb1v, (·)2v: 11+4 pages.

² J. Noble ‘Le répertoire instrumental anglais: 1550-1585’, *La Musique Instrumentale de la Renaissance* ed. Jean Jacquot (CNRS; Paris, 1955) pp. 91-114: a hand-list of the MS with foliation, numbering and concordances. W. A. Edwards *The Sources of Elizabethan Consort Music* (Cambridge, 1974), Ph.D. thesis, lists only instrumental content, but with prime arguments for copyist and origin, gratefully followed here; cf W. A. Edwards ‘The Performance of Music in Elizabethan England’, *PRMA* 97 (1970-71) pp. 113-123.

³ Byrd and Tallis *Cantiones . . . Sacrae* (1575) is in that median year, symbolic of other small markers.

⁴ ‘Italian’ is added to ‘assendo [ad patrem]’ by ‘m^r maillart’ (Maillard) as if a demerit, f. 107v, and here alone (foliation of an opening is given here by modern verso only, where a recto partners it). Italian title-incipits are four: f. 13v ‘Si grand e la pieta’ à6 (van Wilder?); f. 34v ‘quall iniqua mia sorte’ à5 (Jachet Berchem; attr. van Wilder); f. 50v (verso only) ‘Madona Selmorire’ (Verdelot?); f. 52r (recto only) ‘madona su mia corto’ (attr. van Wilder but in fact Giacomo Fogliano, the only *echt* Italian composer apart from Ferrabosco).

choices in partbook sets of overlapping time-scale. One (now reduced to two books) has only three chansons by van Wilder but Ferrabosco aplenty, including one *In Nomine à5*.⁵ Of twelve others, just one is by Christopher Tye: the tablebook begs to differ markedly in a scatter of nineteen *In Nomines* for Tye alone, thirteen unique, over its 5-part span (ff. 25v-125r).⁶ With repertoires so eclectic or mixed, and signs of date or location exiguous for most sources, it is hard to determine interests of transmitter-user classes. Concordances for many items show their status as good catch; but how trawled, and when? Were there nodal epochs—vanishing-point for chanson or motet, emergence for *In Nomine à5*? Common resort to liturgical music, pre-Reformation or Marian-revival, must somehow bridge whatever gulf in attitudes divided attestable recusant houses and Anglican sodalities mindful of tradition; yet the very questions elude formulation if contexts so vague resist defining.

Functional vagaries: sequence, numeration, designators

A first step is to defer to previous findings on structure and sequence. Copying of the 5-part portion began at its *end*, by modern foliation. It, and a separate 6-part portion after it to modern *front*, maybe concurrent, is in inverse posture. One then stumbles over a snag too glaring to ignore, once glimpsed. The copyist numbered nothing—not a single item or page (or folio)—and gave no contents-list. This lack of tally leaves a large, diffuse array in 4-7 and 12 parts unnavigable *per se*. A major deficit, it wholly precludes casual group-usage: only an owner-copyist and director could have guided performing ensembles through so utter a maze.⁷ That induction is necessary to resolve its paradox in principles and strategy: its ‘minimised practicality’, for want of an established term.

As acquired by the national collection the book had leaves detached from a failed binding.⁸ Sequence is still assured. Two-sided folia have items necessarily distinct, recto-verso, giving order and orientation immutably for all contiguous openings. Segments are lost, even so: one between the two main portions à5-6, and one at modern front. Their content, maybe similar by type to what is left, cannot be quantified: extant openings can take two items, or two be needed for bipartite works. It is still part-gaugeable; 16 openings are lost between portions, and 6 before the ‘front’. That is known because openings—not pages, or folios even—have paired numbers, base-verso and top-recto, oriented alike (three

⁵ GB-Ob (Oxford, Bodleian Library) Tenbury MS 389; the privately-held McGhie MS (at times called ‘James’).

⁶ Five more à5 and one à6, f. 20v, are sole complete. Sequential grouping among some has been suggested, e.g. ‘Rachells weeping’ and ‘Weepe no more rachell’. Other *cantus firmus* works by Tye are all *unica* too: ‘christus resurgens’, ‘dum trancisset/transisset’ (nos. 1-4), ‘O lux [beata Trinitas]’.

⁷ A sole 4-part item, 15th piece into the 5-part portion, was apparently side-lined. A change in scope relatively early on may be detectable, ruling out further items on that scoring-level thereafter.

⁸ Purchase-dates stamped inside the front end-papers (as with other items acquired from Julian Marshall) are of instalments 10 July 1880, 26 March and 9 April 1881: the final collation date is ‘Dec. 1903’, f. iv-v.

inversely).⁹ The process postdated later-added items, and so all copying. It seems a library collation c.1620, not differentiating openings with double items, or halves of (less obvious) bipartite works. It aimed then to list bare *acreage* of a collection, in completer days.¹⁰ It did in error number one accretion, from Giovanni Croce *Mascardate Piacevoli* à6 (Venice, 1590). The inattention to its later style was due to its insertion as if integral to main copying, on a single unused opening between the main 5-part portion and the one item distanced in any way, William Byrd's Browning à5. This process left unnumbered (without necessarily ignoring) the other work in the later hand, last by modern foliation on the outermost openings: a motet in two *partes* by William Byrd, the book's only 8-part piece. Also left out of its count as anomalous is a sole 4-part item within the 5-part portion, in a sort of wayside cul-de-sac; numbering of openings just seamlessly skips over it. The enumerator's *method* did not rely on the extant title-pages. It differs by dismissing that sole 8-part item, which falls into a category that they *do* mention. Both concur in not heeding the 4-part item, but maybe for dissimilar causes. (Considering why could help determine when title-pages were introduced; another under-regarded stage.)

Had a table of contents lain in lost pages, it could have had no purpose. Only correlating one to *number on musical page* could have made so large a compilation tractable. Failing that, the mildest epithet for it is quirky. Clef-configurations also confuse: forty à5, ten à6, two à7. Some recur, like the commonest (but not universal) array for In Nomines à5.¹¹ Even if users were fluent in all, the profusion cries out for reference; admittedly not a norm in partbook sets. But noting scoring-level is: another anchor absent here. Some sparse, irregular tags for that occur, but only early on. An inescapable conclusion is that the copyist rose above need of routine markers; he (assuming a he) knew content as no other could have, unless an inducted successor. Copying so dutifully uniform implies not a domestic head of household, in charge of shifting members (like growing children), but a Master of Choristers overseeing regular intake of pupils over a decade or so. Pursuing a vocal solmising theory entails accepting that he co-opted adult males to assist boys; both groups versed on instruments, probably. Relying on a purely mental retentive table on this scale is a curious ploy, without obvious parallel; but failing any other remotely likely solution, only that, with such a type of office and focus on a range of duties over such a time-span, can offer one.

⁹ Numbers 43-44 and 80 are inverse for both places in the openings, ff. 23v-25r, 60v-61r. Significantly all these three also invert title and musical line III—attestably copyist error, since matched nowhere else: see below.

¹⁰ The primary copyist's arabic numerals 1-2-3, seen only in mensuration, differ in style from this bout; which is also consistent enough to confirm that the separate portions à5-6 are correctly aligned with each other. Eleven openings are allotted two pieces, presumably pooled by comparative brevity: In Nomines, all by Tye, motet sections and chansons; 22 items. Even where in runs of 6 and 4 items (ff. 62r-59v, 52r-50v), absolute orientation and order for them are confirmed by the whole embracing sequence à5.

¹¹ Out of 21 In Nomines in clefs G2-C1-C3-C4-F4 one puts the *cantus firmus* in line I rather than II, in error.

Yet one more absence abates any lingering thought of a table of contents of even basic sort. The copyist named accrued items, in the main; even so, five are unascribed or untitled.¹² Another hand casually added title-incipits to three others in browner ink, and corrected author-ascription to a fourth.¹³ This hand entered the dates, 1578; the earliest point to suppose that copying lapsed.¹⁴ It cannot signal new ownership: the primary copyist was on hand to repeat in his own ink the corrected ascription right below its single insertion, and score through all his own wrong five. All these cases concern chanson, implying not proficiency in language as such but specialism in older repertoire, knowledge of incipits. That familiarity does not suggest a new generation. The guest hand's informality and a style general to partbooks preclude speculation on identity.¹⁵ Even so, total absence of title or ascription for eight items piling up through the whole copying period gives a *coup de grâce* to concepts of a contents-list of either cumulative or final sort. It would have needed to be equal to labelling a paradoxical category of things featureless; either in the main, or totally.

Copying principles

Strict hierarchies of lines around openings show clear order in copying routines, governing every 5-part item except one; a degree of wavering so slight as to confirm it aberrant.¹⁶ Order as regular for 6-part items extends purposeful method to them too, *mutatis mutandis* for necessary differences in position of lines III-IV-V. Each has its own constant regularity, and again just one slip.¹⁷ In both portions lines I-II occupy similarly-opposed places, furthest apart around the table, top and base by modern lectern position; and line I is put next to the lowest line (whether V or VI). Both sequences offer standard if different directions for reading any titling. In that, aberrance from routine placement is again rare enough, in both portions, to presume regularity by default; any exception due to fleeting distraction or moments of haste-created error.

The copyist ruled marginal guidelines around all outer edges of a page, then subdivided panels, compartments, for parts. Within those, staves freely vary in number between pieces for any part; but parts on opposed sides tend to the same. When all parts read outwards from a book laid flat, necessary asymmetry

¹² Those à5: (unascribed) ff. 122v, 92v, 91v, 84v; (untitled, unascribed) f. 81v. Jeremy Noble saw 'A nouber' as a title, f. 84v; this is in fact '21 number', a far later annotation outside 'top' ruled margin. Just one à6 is left without any label: Tye's only 6-part In Nomine, second on a shared opening ff. 20v-21r. Its unstated genre may be self-evident, but a standard final ascription would surely have been added if author were known.

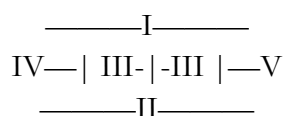
¹³ Additions are at ff. 31v, 86r, 106r; 'doctor tye' is corrected to 'm^r Philippes', incipit-title unaltered, f. 112v. The copyist himself reascribed one item only: 'm^r ~~mundye~~ bird', f. 43v: Byrd's accepted In Nomine no. 1 à5, despite atypical style, and a tendency in MSS to harbour or increase dubious accretions to a Byrd canon.

¹⁴ Dates are at ff. 3r, 47v and capital W (or TW monograms) at ff. 3r, 30r. Another date seems added outside the marginal rule, f. 75v at top, no longer fully legible or whole: '15*[*]'.
¹⁵ A tempting guess is at the main copyist of Tenbury MS 389 and its surviving fellow book, or a very similar main hand in Bodleian Mus. Sch. MS E.423.

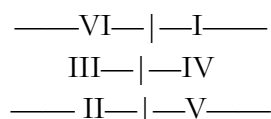
¹⁶ Lines IV-V are uniquely misplaced (interchanged) across ff. 28v-29r, towards its end. Hierarchy of part-lines is assessed here purely by clef chosen. Lines III-IV, subject to the most interchangeability of range, are quite often given to varying clefs within a piece; a possibility in other lines, of course, but not so frequent.

¹⁷ Only the first item à6 (in which III exceeds IV by just one extra tone above) interchanges IV-V, f. 21v-22r.

in handling limits of the form compels 5-part openings to accommodate two performers on one of the four outward orientations, aligned alike. The consistent resolution for that can be shown schematically, given in upright lectern position (with panels for lines IV-V read ‘sideways’), as:



Panels for lines I-II cross one side to another, ‘top-base’. Line III within a central panel is divided by the gutter into two slighter halves and, like line II, read from modern ‘base’, verso-recto (again, with one exception in this portion).¹⁸ Openings adapt to doubled items by bisecting top and base panels each into two, kept to one side of verso-recto, with sometimes a little over-run.¹⁹ (The 7-part items also double parts on top and base.) The 6-part schema is just as constant:



Title-pages

¶ A booke of In No= | mines & other folfainge | Songes of:v:vj:vij:&:viij:^{te} | ~ partes for voyces or ~ | Infrumentes :•:• | *B:Gates 13th: 1727/8* [interposed later; the vertical year-symbol 7-8 is divided by a horizontal dash. The absent month January can be assumed from **GB-Cfm** MU MS 117] | [wedge-form supportive bracket of 5 diminishing horizontal bars] | Vermis & non homo :•:~:•: | [f. 129r] 20

¶ A booke of In nomi= | nes & other folfainge fon= | ges of v:vj:vij:& viij: pts | for voyces or In= | :•: ftrumentes :•: | Vermis & non homo ◇ | [wedge-form supportive bracket] | [f.1r]

Doubled title-pages, front-back, form another riddle, but not solved by free-for-all access from either end: that would pile even more woe on navigational problems. Sheer unwieldiness demands a standard placement for the book, and assemblies of persons around it, in a specific room even: highly structured institutional sessions. Practical routine ease in handling an object so unfit for study-purpose (in type, so unlike a score), is a factor of its very being. Title-pages

¹⁸ The one exception, a shared opening for two In Nomines by Tye, has line III read from ‘top’ in inverse orientation: ff. 60v-61r. The 7-part items, both In Nomines, also read III from top; ff. 23v-24r, 24v-25r.

¹⁹ In 5-part shared-item openings, lines IV-V stack the two items in wholly orderly fashion, second outermost.

²⁰ Original front ff. 128v-r also has a draught memorandum dated 9th October 1596 on a grant of Pagham Vicarage, West Sussex, and a page with 11 staves left blank ruled crosswise over a large central panel. A table of instruction for 4 *genera* of mensuration values is given with ‘inverse’ placement f. 127v; it leads into (by current foliation, follows) the first page of Byrd’s late-added motet à8, f. 127r.

show merely a later failure to grasp the tablebook's insistent, regular part-orientation, from start to end of extant copy, and so its intent. Chances that they were in any sense coincident with copying are lessened by problems broached elsewhere. Both are worded at odds with content. Two levels are unlisted. Firstly, they ignore the one 4-part piece. Since the opening for that has all parts scored through lightly in a single ink line, anyone purposively listing total content could well have been minded to omit it, as title-pages do: it elicited just that response from the enumerator who as noted, uniquely for the main portions, bypassed it.²¹ But the copyist had wittingly included it, distinctly labelled *all* lines 'iiij parts', and left it legible; if with curious ambivalence he left a panel open for an extra fifth part. (Three In Nomines here and a motet à4 completed that additive process, known in three other extant sources.²²) Its solitary position could offer a clue to an epoch of redefining initial copying aims.²³ One of only four other pieces to have scoring-level placed to them is, cogently, the sole 12-part motet, labelled 'xij pts' verso and recto alike.²⁴ The worder of title-pages did not see fit to mention this either. If the copyist had procured them, why did he accept so negligent a listing of content? He was eagle-eyed over each item's *location*, we now know. Did *he* write them? If so, to formulate their wording in mid-copying would seem under-defined, premature. If in advance, why did he include 4-part work at all, labelled so outright, against his own advance plan? Even if he expected to upgrade it, he made its scoring-level highly visible; and in the event he found no fifth part, or person to devise one. Then, what corpus of 8-part work other than random could he have hoped to draw on? Yet the title-pages name that level of scoring. Original copy has no trace of 8-part work. In sum: if added at *any* one of three feasible points before, during, or immediately after primary copying, and by whomsoever, why are they so ineptly misleading? Barely justified assumptions cluster here. An *onus probandi* is on those maintaining a 'factoid', of title-pages contemporaneous with total content rather than retrospective and inexact. Incidentally, they do not *prescribe* performance-mode but simply describe content-type by noting origin: instrumental (based largely on plainsong and ostinato) or else vocal. As Emanuel Winternitz observed,

²¹ Adjacent openings give number in unit-order unbroken by the jump; thus scoring-out lines were already present, confirming the enumerator's aim to measure a primary collection apart from exceptions to its scope.

²² Brewster In Nomine à4, *unicum*, a stave-ruled untitled blank panel (for IV) has clef C5, *k-s* one flat. His sole known work à5, also an In Nomine, may be à4 adapted: printed in score MB 44, discussed pp. 184-5. The only patent vocal addition is to Robert Johnson 'Gaude [Maria] virgo', f. 44v; cf version à4, Additional MSS 17802-5 (Gyffard). Comparative scalar ranges of parts I-V: (A *vocal*, line II added): 'Gaude virgo' (11-12-10-11-9). (B *In Nomines*, line IV added); Johnson: 9-11-11-13-11. Tallis no. 2: 11-9-10-12-11. Taverner: 10-9-11-13-11. Awkward intervals in additive parts as well as increased range cannot be signs of suitability in use as vocalising matter.

²³ This point could mark the end of an initial copying stage: a section ff. 123r-108v with greater show-through, if impossible to tell how supply of ink and paper combined to vary that. The recto f. 108r was left exposed as an outer leaf at some point, however briefly; visible in signs of wear, possibly damp, and a small hole towards the lower right impairing musical notes in line II of the In Nomine à4 (on the verso).

²⁴ Three early pieces only are designated 'v parts'; ff. 122v, 120v, 107v. Whatever the copyist's initial aims, for example maybe to place piece-attribution against all parts on an opening, he lapsed after f. 107v; even that may try to clarify 'iiij parts' to Brewster, f. 108v. In the 6-part portion *only* the sole item à12 is designated.

precedence of Latin ‘canere-cantio’ over vernaculars means that any music can be termed ‘song’. Here three pieces are so-termed, one by White, two by Parsons: no-one yet seems to have tried to explain seriously how they could be vocal by *genre*.²⁵ In this era, intransitive ‘play’ (for ‘play a part’) is unnormative usage. Even ‘solfaing’ implies a core-sense of ‘read from stave’, since a stave-dependent practise. A directive ‘this must be songe 4 notes lower’ (f. 57r) correspondingly does not entail a vocal interpretation; it is subscribed to a *cantus firmus* of 57 breves.²⁶

The enumerator’s count began at a ‘front’ chosen by modern foliation. Both assumed maybe that later additions would be at end. Restoration reset the ‘end’ title-page to face inwards rather than outwards, incorrectly as Warwick Edwards saw. Bernard Gates, first known owner, added his name to it; he would hardly have placed that proprietary mark at a secondary internal point. Monumental brackets to support titling are bolder and higher-placed at back than front, with fuller pen-flourishes (barely conveyable in type). Both are in large black letter (a biblical motto left in roman script); professional, if not quite at the acme seen in a pattern-book of 1618.²⁷ But orientation is a sequelular matter, since they seem no part of the original. They are at odds with the assessment made to ascertain original extent, the visible collation (maybe c.1620) that did not consider content in detail, as established, or rely on the title-pages. So, did those come even later? Black letter is ambivalently archaic. By the 1580s printed title-pages avoided it, even if kept in letterpress to signal formality, as in law manuals and primers.²⁸ If scarcity of larger font played a part in that, another motive is shown by a witness from the end of an age: Samuel Pepys, an avid collector of broadsides. In 1700 he regretted the passing of black letter (also termed English letter), which he felt a poignant evocation of the past.²⁹ Extending to manuscript a concept of ‘nostalgia in print’, one can sooner to see title-pages in black letter used by a

²⁵ Titles ‘a songe’ apply to White à5 f. 118v, Parsons à5 f.59v and Parsons à6 (*alias* ‘Lusti gallant’) f. 10v.

²⁶ The copyist placed this as line I (clef G2) against the real line I placed as II (clef C1): clearly genuinely misled by following copy exactly; not importing self-created, erroneous clef-change (as MB 44 p. 192 infers). Three out of four staves for genuine line I have a high sixth leger-line extension, though none of full stave-length.

²⁷ *The Pens Excellencie or The Secretaries Delighte Wherein as well the abuses wh. are offered unto y^e worthines of y^e Pen, by unworthie Pen men, are trulie discovered: as y^e dignity of y^e Art it selfe by y^e Antiquitie; Excellencie & diversitie thereof, is breifly demonstrated Together with an insertion of sondrie Peeces, or Examples, of all y^e usuall Hands of England: as also an addition of certaine methodicall observations for Writing, Making of the Pen, Holding the Pen, &c. Written by Martin Billingsley Mr in y^e art of Writing Non satis est bene, aliquid facere, nisi etiam fiat venustè. W. Holle sculp. The Greeke & Hebrewe with other Peeces never yet extant are hereunto by the Authour exactlie added. Are to be solde by Io: Sudbury [c] George Humble in Popeshead Alley.* Copy in Washington, Folger Shakespeare Library.

²⁸ Billingsley called bastard secretary (as he styled it) ‘a Hand not so vsuall as the former [secretary]; yet of great validity, and for diuers purposes exceeding gracefull; as for Engrossemments, Epitaphs for Tombes, Titles of Bookes, and many other vses, which it would be too tedious for to recite.’

²⁹ Zachary Lesser ‘Typographic Nostalgia: Playreading, Popularity and the Meanings of Black Letter’, *The Book of the Play Playwrights, Stationers, and Readers in Early Modern England* ed. Marta Straznicky (University of Massachusetts Press; Amherst, 2006) pp. 99-126; Gerald Egan ‘Black Letter and the Broadside Ballad’, *English Broadside Ballad Archive* (on-line; 2007). These concern black letter as ‘bearer of semiotic meaning’ for a highly literate audience, to refer to a traditional but already semi-mythical Englishness.

Jacobean to typify a curio from a vanished era than an Elizabethan to sign-post—what? Fuddy-duddy repertoire? Another exceptionalist side is a decision to install any at all: a rarity in manuscript compilations. No easy parallel comes to mind before Additional MSS 29372-7, Thomas Myriell's partbook set. It has the luxury of engraved title-pages dated 1616: *Tristitia Remedium*. (By chance monumental printed issues began that very year, with Ben Jonson's *Works*; derided by the wits for its novel pretentious title.) This set also bulks large and is in one hand, that of its copyist-owner, his name stamped on the original bindings.³⁰

Missing portions: scale of lost repertoire

An opening (possibly ruled by the copyist) separates the 5-part portion from what in effect is a preliminary: Byrd's Browning à5. It is a *tour de force*, but not so outré as to debar it from a place among 5-part works, even if its profuse counterpoint needed closer (but still legible) script to fit in an opening. The only reason proposed for its isolation on end-pages is as a latecomer: the relevant portion for it was full.³¹ (Yet it is not *quite* adjacent to its natural partners.) The motet à8 cannot be pinned down, given that that existence of an 8-part portion is unlikely; but Croce's item can be shown to postdate the whole 6-part portion by the positioning of that and the Browning.³² It in fact casually highlights the next enigma: the sheer boundedness of sequences we *do* have.

The 6-part portion runs ff. 2v-22r in modern foliation. At ff. 23v-25r, the 5-part present start (original hinter end), are two In Nomines à7, the only two in a level mentioned on title-pages. That is well and good, but for an unreckoned factor. Three musical pages have one side devoid of ruled staves or any mark whatsoever: f. 2r, and ff. 22v-23r, to first sight a two-page integral blank opening between main portions. A blank side before or after any with music betrays non-continuous break-points; end-papers to 6-part and 5/7-part portions alike. Both are 'signed out' as in some way completed. All three gaps mask section-ends: regularity in copy, and the known missing folia, must mean that. This segmentation adds lack of rhyme or reason to sequence, from back to front: (*later 8-part*)-5-part isolate-(*later 6-part*) | 5-part-(*4-part*)-5-part-7-part | *unknown* | 6-part-12-part-6-part | *unknown*. It leaves hanging problems, assuming that non-contiguous vanished segments were in tablebook layout. Why would any 7-part items have been copied separately from the extant two? To terminate a portion with them suggests expectation of no others, since natural order would not normally interpose them between 5-part and 6-part portions. Only two other In

³⁰ Sectional markers occur; cf Bodleian Mus. Sch. MSS D.212-16s (212-15, variedly): 'Heere endeth the songes of fower partes, and heere beginneth those songes of five partes'. Here, 'song' refers exclusively to In Nomines.

³¹ Its end-subscriptions of 'finis' are an egregious feature, not found elsewhere except to the motet à12.

³² Verbal incipits kept in Croce's mascarata imply guides for an instrumental accompaniment to repeat sections. Byrd's Browning, alongside it, differs from the other Brownings here, by Woodcocke and Stonings, by its verbal tags 'ye leaves etc/' (or similar) underlaid when incidences of the motto tune begin.

Nomines à7 survive; a scale of writing obsolescent by 1575 in that *genre*.³³ What repertoire was differentiable enough, in that period, as to require discrete sectionalisation in amounts of 6 and 16 openings?

Chances of exploitable material à7 cannot be ruled out. Three chansons and a motet by van Wilder are extant, and a further instrumental Miserere in an incomplete source (with two motets à8 by Philip de Monte and William Byrd; but seemingly dated 1584, late for this book).³⁴ Positing a commitment to copying, let alone gathering, 8-part repertoire is a mare's nest if other 'domestic' sources for this epoch have so little to compare; and even they, habitually in sets of 5-6 parts, barely have that extra capacity. It stretches this tablebook's fabric beyond natural limits. To suppose any such content makes it to a degree unrepresentative of its era, on an unrealistic scale of ambition; not a mission to signal before begun. This copyist's one 12-part motet is brief, like all four doubled 6-part items; given his caution over Byrd's Browning à5, could he have elected in advance to collect 8-part work on the short side? The later copyist managed it only by deploying a small, trimmer script. 'Short' cannot describe the work of Derricke Gerrarde, the chief, most prolific composer in a range à7-10. His output was private to and barely known outside one noble house, it seems; an establishment possibly unique 1559-80 for human resources able to tackle music on such scales.³⁵ Could any group of cathedral singers have matched it *as routine*, even for leisure? *Cantiones Sacrae* of 1575 (CS) has two 7-part motets by Tallis: 'Miserere nostri', 'Suscipe quæso' / *2a pars* 'Si enim'; nos. 34, 27-8; within copyable limits for this MS, but unlikely to have been added in regular fashion. (Concordant items by Tallis are part-variant.) The tablebook includes nothing by Byrd from CS, leaving no. 25 'Diliges Dominum' à8 as a possible *lost* item; but the limits of *canon cancrizans* hold no allure for untexted use. His 'Quomodo cantabimus' à8 is as unlikely if dated 1584. How little from his motet output the copyist drew on is evident; maybe no usual supply-chain applied, as may well have been so a while after Byrd's move from Lincoln to join the Chapel Royal in 1572. We do have some of him in this MS: a Byrd in the hand is worth two in the bush and, after all, a part of the bush in question is lost. Any Byrd whatsoever within it falls below a level of guesswork. The only copyist to compare for repertoire à7 is John Merro at Gloucester Cathedral, but parallels are hard to sustain beyond a circle of colleagues able to cope with that scale. The earliest date for him to have begun to assemble anything would be 1610, at earliest, with

³³ In Nomines à7 by 'd[?] Whyte' (*sic* title) and 'm^r Alcock' are known only in a sole partbook: Additional MS 32377 (Hugh Geare) ff. 10v-11r, 17r-18r. A tripla section in Alcock is massive enough to need a page-turner.

³⁴ Bodleian Tenbury MS 389 pp. 90-1, 'miserere .7. pts vpon .5. minūs & a crochit' ascribed to 'Patrick Dowglas' only in the index, at front; the only 7-part piece in this mixed source. The companion MS has a part for it. Their sole 8-part content *is* texted: de Monte 'Super flumina Babylonis', Byrd 'Quomodo cantabimus'.

³⁵ His large *œuvre* has motets à7 (5 items), à8 (10), à9 (1), à10 (1); chansons à8 (3), a secular motet à8 (1). He is unconfirmed as author of the sole work by a 'Gerardus' in the tablebook, 'Chera la fountayne', f. 29v. No direct proof exists that he worked for Henry FitzAlan, 12th Earl of Arundel (d. 1580), resident from 1556 at Nonsuch Palace, Surrey: Anthony Milledge *The Music of Dyrlicke Gerarde* (Durham, 2001), Ph.D. thesis.

a focus on Jacobean anthem at an enhanced level found in test-pieces for academic degrees (English or Latin).³⁶

Possibilities apart from larger scorings are unbounded, if limited. An obvious thought that losses lay in repertoire for 3-4 parts runs counter to title-pages that, whatever else they scamped, cannot have missed that. A now-incomplete under-labelled tablebook is ill-disposed to betray any missing secrets. No view can be founded on absences, no happy conclusions drawn; but any solution must be irreconcilable with title-pages that seem to offer a methodical collection which it never can have been, in the sense of totally orderly scoring-levels that descriptions of them would seem to vouch for, or reflect. Material may well have differed in type or mode rather than scoring, such as sections with textual underlay: other partbook sets mix untexted and texted. The quiddity of a collection like this, a project within the Reformed Anglican church, terminated 1578-80 by internal datings and the career of its likely copyist, preserves larger-scale repertoire of quite some time beforehand at a time of diminishing supply, work that could date back to the 1530s at least in part like that of Robert Johnson. It implies intervening transferrals in conservation mode in and by the 1560s, very soon after a liturgy was wholly and for the final time discarded and superseded.

Identity of the copyist

The discussion of this source by Dr Edwards assessed identities for its primary copyist. A place-name inside the original front of the book points to Chichester, naturally imputing Clement Woodcocke, former Master of the Choristers at its cathedral. The possibility has been disputed, and the tablebook's hand distanced from his known signatures; but rebuttal of that need not even base itself on grounds of a man cultivating varied styles of penmanship. The valuable and painstaking article proposing dissimilarity is overzealous in this one contention: its illustrated specimen brings out quite the reverse. The name 'Clement Woodcocke' in its musical form, copied atypically often round each of his pieces, is just as in his attested signature except for a scroll symbol above the forename, of a paraph sort, infrequent in this copyist's usage.³⁷ It is the only dissimilarity to aid a view that signatures 'can in no way be reconciled with any of the writing in this manuscript'.³⁸ They otherwise are twin with a high degree of likeness. The surname in the music may elide 'ck' into a liaison of intermediate sort before a flourished letter 'e', but not always; the letters at ff. 99r, 101v-102r, are quite distinct. (A smaller problem is that 'Woodcocke' seems to prove an enthusiastic but not very accurate copyist of his own work.) Nowhere else are Woodcocke's works (all instrumental) so concentrated as here, the site likeliest to hold his

³⁶ Craig Monson *Voices and Viols in England, 1600-1650 The Sources and the Music* (UMI Press; Ann Arbor, 1982), Chapter 4, pp. 133-158. Additional MSS 17786-91 likewise rise to two anthems à 7 by Tomkins and Weelkes.

³⁷ The only match to a configuration 'em' in six other title-incipits is 'credo quod redē p̄tor', f. 19v. A more frequent quirk is to dot 'u' *beneath*, 'u' (19 instances); maybe to ensure no confusion with repeated 'ii'.

³⁸ R. Ford 'Clement Woodcock's Appointment at Canterbury Cathedral', *Chelys* 16 (1987) pp. 36-43; Plate II.

copying: a relevant circumstance. One In Nomine is absent, but two others, and a free-standing 'Hackney' (so-titled), all à5, unique to this tablebook, are placed at ff. 102r-97v together with his more circulated Browning.³⁹ Admittedly, Taverner's original In Nomine is interposed, ff. 100r-99v; but only two other author-sequences of greater proximity and length occur, for favourites of this copyist: van Wilder and Tye—neither of them eligible to be the scribe.⁴⁰ 'Signature' symbols found in two places could read plain 'W' (as Dr Edwards preferred), or else 'TW', by a monogram-like spur across the first stroke. These though seem to be in the incipit-adding hand.⁴¹ And so a match for Woodcocke's hand can be urged, close on outright proof. If a task of instructing choirboys explains the genesis of the MS, or providing leisure for singing-men as well, it may make Michaelmas 1570 a time for inception, when he was first paid as an organist; Chichester Act Books record him as *Magister Choristarum* from 21 November 1571. That then could extend to a copying period of 7-8 years and near-completion suggested by inserted dates. Taking loss of portions into account, it gives a man's prime period of engagement with teaching duties to account for roughly 150 items; within credible bounds. One more consideration is his previous service over five years or so at Canterbury, with musical copying duties. Nothing excludes a possibility of a personal book began there; it could explain why an early 5-part portion may show small signs of change in direction, or even hint that a decision to parcel off the two now-lost areas involved earlier repertoire. That will of course stay totally speculative, or stay true to form, for predictions, in being confuted by later discoveries.

All known of Woodcocke's career sites him in right places at the right time, with a standing confirmed by virtue of office. In fact one anecdote, to be mentioned, joins a church musician of his surname to a contemporary composer (and so colleague) of distinction. If after his death the book did not leave the vicinity of Chichester awhile, as an attached document suggests, it may put perspective on later twists in the path of its provenance, likes some use under new ownership, as the addition of two works over a decade later must mean.⁴² Yet in due course it seemed baffling enough for someone to apply numeration, and someone else (maybe) to devise 'appropriate' title-pages unneeded by the primary copyist-owner-user. (Binding remnants, front and back, seem original). As known, it came into central Chapel Royal circles close to London. Chances are that it was available to, even owned by, Purcell. He can have had no other whole model to look to when composing the In Nomines à6-7 that mark the end of an era, both resoundingly *all' antica* to boot.⁴³

³⁹ The tablebook's incompleteness allows for former presence of In Nomine no. 1; extant in Christ Church Mus 984-8 (Robert Dow) and the main mid-Jacobean source for In Nomines old and new, Mus. Sch. MSS D.212-16.

⁴⁰ Tye ff. 77r-62v; van Wilder ff. 42r-33v (a sequence containing *dubia*).

⁴¹ If this *were* the owner of Tenbury MS 389, he had a combining monogram 'TE' placed on his covers.

⁴² No complete partbook set of Croce's *Maschiate Piacevoli* survives in Britain, first or second issue (1590, 1604).

⁴³ D. Pinto 'Purcell's In nomines: a tale of two manuscripts (perhaps three)', *Chelys* 25 (1996-7) pp. 101-106.

Already in holy orders, Woodcocke stood down as Master of the Choristers in 1580. He died early in 1590 after a brief return to the post in 1589. Chances that he met Byrd arise from a possible sighting, if of loose sort. Casual mention in a jestbook (incidentally a type of publication aiming at the common touch through black letter), sites a Woodcocke at ‘the college’ in Gloucester, as given below: whether Clement Woodcocke or not, is beyond record. The actor-clown Richard Tarlton met William Byrd there; Woodcocke, encountering both, seized a pretext to proclaim himself akin to Byrd, unbeknown; both being species of bird. Punning banter so feeble (humour without wit ages badly) is of interest mainly in being plausible enough to print, and reprint, when Byrd was still engaged in publishing his own output. It could fit a period from 1580, delimited by Tarlton’s death shortly after 3rd September 1588. (Edward F. Rimbault, first to notice Woodcocke, assumed him the Gloucester man on this basis. Oddly, in so doing he described Woodcocke’s name as ‘quite new to the musical world’, but without mention of the tablebook; that came a year later.⁴⁴ Possibly this notorious snapper-up of unconsidered trifles had detracted it, in already derelict state, from some neglected chapel location interim.) The tale may hint at a collegiate network with accepted visiting status between fraternities. But then we could expect the copyist of this book, if a *Kleinmeister* like Woodcocke, to rank somewhat above a nonentity in his profession; able to call on a body of work large and varied in his time, saved in greater part for our own.

Tarltons Jestes. Drawn into these three parts. 1 His Court-Witty Jestes. 2 His Sound City Jestes. 3 His Country pretty Jestes. Full of delight, Wit, and honest Mirth. (I.H. for Andrew Crook; London, 1638)⁴⁵

Tarltons pretty Countrey Jestes. {First item in this section, sig. [C4]}

Tarltons wit betweene a Bird and a Wood-cock.

IN the City of Glocester, M. *Bird* of the Chappell met with *Tarlton*, who ioyfull to regréet other, went to visit his friends: amongst the rest, M. *Bird* of the Quéenes Chappell, visited M. *Wood-cock* of the Colledge, where méeting, many friendly spéeches past, amongst which, M. *Wood-cock* challenged M. *Bird* of Kin: who mused that hee was of his affinity, and hee neuer knew it. Yes sayes M. *Wood-cock*, euery Wood-cock is a Bird, therefore it must needs be so. Lord Sir, sayes *Tarlton*, you are wide, for though euery Wood-cock be a Bird, yet euery Bird is not a Wood cock. So Master *Wood-cock* like a Wood-cock bit his lip, and mumbudget was silent.

⁴⁴ *The Musical World* xvii (1842) p. 171, a comment on Mus. Sch. MSS D.212-16. In his edition of *Fantazies* by Orlando Gibbons (1843), Rimbault claimed, as its then owner, that the tablebook came through the L'Estrange and North families. Neither seems likely; one would rule out the other. It may be a ruse, or just guesswork. Roger North, an acquaintance of Henry Purcell, saw ‘coppys of 4, 5, and 6 parts’ for plainsong settings such as *In Nomines*. Julian Marshall acquired from Rimbault’s sale, July-August 1877. The British Museum’s purchase of his collection was an outlay so large as to need staggering over three financial years, as purchase-dates show: the first of them marks consignment of all books and MSS. Arthur Searle ‘Julian Marshall and the British Museum: Music Collecting in the Later Nineteenth Century’, *BLJ* 11/1 (Spring, 1985) pp. 67-87.

⁴⁵ Licensed 4th August 1600; a first extant reprint (1611) is said to be identical with that used here. Roman-italic here replace black letter-roman; an initial drop capital is reduced (its title-page is not in black letter).

Note

The British Library offers images of Additional MS 31390 entire, on its public website. The *Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music* (DLAMM) also makes it viewable, with other invaluable tools: an inventory of contents linked to finding-lists for every item, and cross-references to sources with concordant or similar material. The on-line *Thematic Index* of the Viola da Gamba Society (UK) lists all its instrumental content by author with full concordances, and a certain amount of untexted work playable in an instrumental context: *e.g.* [Fantasia] à5 (possibly of vocal origin), VdGS *Thematic Index* Anonymous no. 1560 (Edwards no. E79); John Sheppard '[Filiæ] Jerusalem' à6.

This essay was drafted with a singular omission. The section on copying principles follows the pioneering analysis in Richard Rastall 'Spatial effects in English concert music c.1560-1605', *EM* xxv/2 (May 1997) pp. 268-288, and grateful acknowledgement of this is due.

A Rare Instrument: The Thomas Cole Bass Viol in the Collection of the Auckland War Memorial Museum, New Zealand.

An account of how it came to New Zealand in the mid-twentieth century

POLLY SUSSEX

On 16th March 1945, Carl Dolmetsch, in Haslemere, wrote the following letter to Ronald B. Castle in Wellington, New Zealand¹:

Dear Sir,

We thank you for your letter and are interested to hear of your sister's desire to obtain a Viola da Gamba. Her cello technique would be of good use to her in learning the viol, but there are certain fundamental differences, which would have to be mastered, and we should be pleased to supply information concerning them at the time of supplying the instrument.

While we are engaged on war work and not manufacturing new instruments we have no export license, but we believe that we could obtain permission to export a genuine antique Viola da Gamba. We have a very fine example by the English maker, Thomas Cole, which we could sell at the price of £75.0.0., plus freight and insurance charges. We are in the meantime getting into (sic) touch with an export firm in this country to ascertain whether we would be allowed to export this instrument to you before the end of the war. As soon as the war is over we are planning to resume the manufacture of new instruments and could take an order now for a new Viola da Gamba costing £70.0.0. The price of a bow for either instrument would be £10.10.0.

Yours sincerely

p.p. Arnold Dolmetsch Ltd.

(signed) C.F.Dolmetsch

Managing Director

The 'sister' referred to in the opening lines of this letter was Mona Castle. Another sister, Zillah, was a violinist. Ron himself was a keyboard and wind player. None of the three siblings ever married and they spent much of their respective lives collecting old instruments and sheet music and promoting the cause of Early Music in their own way.

They clearly had to persevere in getting the viol to New Zealand. Their first application for a license to import a Viola da Gamba ["to the value of £150"] was refused by the New Zealand Collector of Customs. Perhaps this seemed a frivolous request in wartime, for the following year in December 1946, the viol [1998.60.16] together with a "triangular harpsichord" [1998.60.3] were dispatched to New Zealand on board the "Port Jackson".

Further correspondence in 1947 shows that Arnold Dolmetsch Ltd was a firm prepared to support its clients ... and this odd trio of Early Music enthusiasts from a remote corner of the British Empire were serious about playing. Ron had also ordered a treble recorder from Arnold Dolmetsch Ltd [1998.60.16] and with the Kirkman harpsichord [1998.60.2] which he had bought from

¹ The correspondence between the firm of Arnold Dolmetsch Ltd and the Castles is in the library of the Auckland War Memorial Museum. The photographs of the Castles are also part of this collection.

Dolmetsch for £300 before the war and an early nineteenth century viola d'amore for Zillah, they were now ready for their publicity photos.



Mona Castle playing the Thomas Cole bass viol. Photograph reproduced with the kind permission of Auckland War Memorial Museum

In response to an obvious query about the absence of an end-pin, a further member of the Dolmetsch team replies:

Many modern players do prefer a peg.....no doubt you would have no difficulty in having this done, if you thought it worthwhile.

With regard to the history of the Viola da Gamba, we regret that we do not know much about this particular instrument before 1922 when it was discovered and put into playing order by Arnold Dolmetsch. About its maker, Thomas Cole, we can say that he was a pupil of Richard Meares at about the same time as Barak Norman. All Thomas Cole instruments that we have met with have an outstandingly good tone; full and resonant. His instruments are more scarce than those of Barak Norman. Arnold Dolmetsch thought very highly of this particular Viola da Gamba.

No other correspondence about the viol survives, but it is clear from the photos that Mona did manage to master playing the bass viol without the use of a “peg”.

At some point she must have decided to learn from the sources as the

collection of rare books from the Castle collection includes a first edition of the *Pièces de Viole*, Volume 1, by Marin Marais and a copy of Rousseau's *Traité de la Viole*.

[Dorothy] Mona Castle [b 1899 – died April 1976] was outlived by her brother and sister, who became something of a legend in Wellington. They became increasingly reclusive, showing their musical instruments to only a few. Their efforts to interest others in their collection met with limited success. Ronald Castle [b 1907, died 10 May 1984] died aged 76, and when Zillah died in Wellington in October 1997, the future of the collection became a problem. After much negotiation, the rare books went to the National Library of New Zealand Te Puna Matauranga o Aotearoa, Wellington, and the musical instruments to the Auckland War Memorial Museum as the Zillah and Ronald Castle Collection of Musical Instruments.

Little is known of Thomas Cole except that he was a London contemporary of Richard Meares. The Dolmetsch assertion that he was a pupil of Meares is not corroborated elsewhere. Vannes² says that he worked between 1670 and 1690.



Mona Castle playing the Thomas Cole bass viol, with Zillah Castle (viola d'amore) and Ronald Castle (harpsichord). Photograph reproduced with the kind permission of the Auckland War Memorial Museum

and mentions that he also made tenor viols and violins. Lütgendorff³ states that the famous Count Valdrighi owned one of his viols. Thomas MacCracken (USA) has compiled an extensive catalogue of all surviving early viols. For information about the five surviving Cole viols, the reader is referred to his very detailed online catalogue <<https://www.vdgsa.org/pgs/viols/viols.html>>

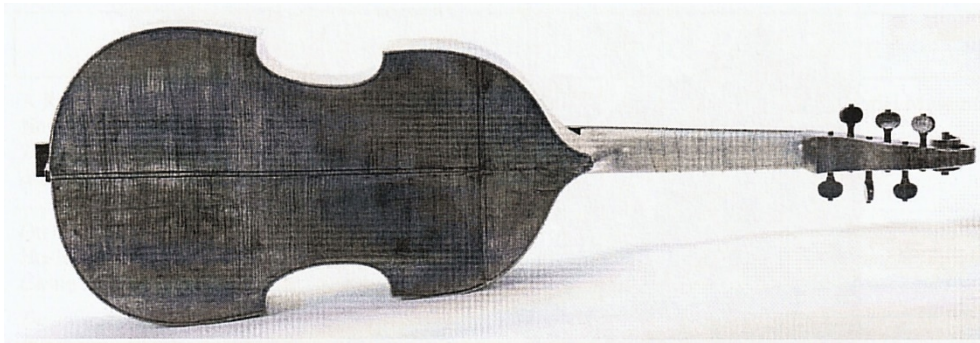


*Front of Thomas Cole bass viol. Auckland Museum 1998.60.11.1
Photographer Krzysztof Pfeiffer © Auckland War Memorial Museum 2010*

The surviving Cole basses range in body length from 64.7 cms to 71.9cms. Two of these are in private collections in London and Paris, and were discovered since this article was first written. Of the other three, a bass with a 68.7 cm. body length is in the Museo Civico in Modena, Italy. This is the viol that belonged to Count Valdrighi before 1892

³ Lütgendorff, Willibald von. *Die Geigen – und Lautenmacher vom Mittelalter bis zur Neuzeit* (Frankfurt, 1922)

*Thomas Cole / in S. Pauls
Alley, London / 1665 [printed except the date]*



*Back of Thomas Cole bass viol. Auckland Museum 1998.60.11.1
Photographer Krzysztof Pfeiffer © Auckland War Memorial Museum 2010*

The largest instrument is now in the Newberry Library, Chicago, USA. Unlike the first, its body shape is that of a cello and it has a carved head that is, however, not original. The pegbox has a plugged seventh hole. The label reads:

*Thomas Cole, near Fetter Lane
/ in Holborn, London, 1676 [printed, final 6 changed to 8]*

The Auckland instrument is a fairly plain instrument with a label reading

*Thomas Cole / London
[no date] – part of the label appears to have been cut off]*



*Detail of Thomas Cole bass viol. Auckland Museum 1998.60.11.1
Photographer Krzysztof Pfeiffer © Auckland War Memorial Museum 2010*

The open scroll, neck and fingerboard and tailpiece are all by Dolmetsch. The pegs and bridge are also modern. The three-piece table has double black/white/black purfling and an attractive floral ornament above the bridge, done in the characteristic English hot needle technique. The three-piece back

has single purfling with separate outlines above and below the fold. Unfortunately it is not possible to assess the quality of the viol's tone as it is in a fragile condition and not, at present, playable.

Perhaps as time goes on and research draws the threads of knowledge together, we will discover that there are more Cole instruments still surviving. In the meantime however, the Auckland Museum is fortunate to have a rare viol thanks to the energy and enthusiasm of the pioneering Castles.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the Auckland Museum for permission to reproduce the documents and photographs that accompany this article. My thanks also go to the members of its staff, in particular Louis le Vaillant, Curator – Applied Arts, and Gordon Maitland, Curator – Pictorial Collections.

I would like to thank Thomas MacCracken of Virginia USA, for kindly supplying information about Thomas Cole and his viols.

John Cunningham and Bryan White (eds), *Musical Patronage between Britain and Europe 1500-1800, Essays in Honour of Peter Holman*, The Boydell Press, Woodbridge, 2020 ISBN 9781783274925, 575 pp., £60

For some fifty years Peter Holman has been a distinguished and leading member of the Viola da Gamba Society. In that time he has often lectured to the Society, performed for them with musicians from his groups Ars Nova and The Parley of Instruments, edited *Cheyls*, and written innumerable articles both for it and for its successor the *Journal*. So it is very gratifying to welcome this substantial tribute from his colleagues and former students, which embraces just some of the wide spectrum of seventeenth and eighteenth century music which he himself has done so much to illuminate over the years. Indeed, the spectrum is so wide – 21 essays - that I must confine myself to brief summaries of the arguments in the essays.

REPERTORY

1. Patxi de Amo: “Qui en ont porté la connaissance dans les autres Royaumes”: The Transmission of Solo Bass Viol Music by migrant English Composers in the Seventeenth Century’.

I must declare an interest here, because Patxi and I are currently preparing a *Musica Britannica* volume of divisions for violin and for viol, based around a manuscript he discovered in Frankfurt (D-F, Mus HS 337) when working on his dissertation on Poole. Here he first surveys the many English musicians working in Europe before discussing the manuscripts in which their music is found. Some of these are continental, but most of the music found its way to England and Patxi’s comments on all these are most illuminating. In particular he has important views on the major surviving examples created in Oxford.

2. Andrew Woolley: “The Tunes of the usual *French Dances* at COURT and DANCING SCHOOLS”; The Repertory and Musical Practice of Dancing Masters in Restoration England.

Andrew Woolley explores the dance-music repertory found in numerous single-line collections, ‘the melody conceived as a descant over a harmonic foundation shorn of a bass or inner parts.’ Beginning with Arbeau and Praetorius he goes on to explore the repertory of ‘French’ dances and their ‘French-ness’ – what came from France and what was of English origin. Dancing master violinists were an important part of the social upbringing of the nobility, who themselves were often responsible for making copies of the music. Their importance has generally been under-recognised and this is a most useful corrective study. Playford’s *Dancing Master* and *Apollo’s Banquet* are rich sources for these dances, many of which come from, or were used in the theatre. Andrew follows Peter Holman’s caution by not giving too much weight to the idea that ‘the fashion for French style music was not necessarily reliant on the tastes of Charles II, as is sometimes assumed’.

3. Alan Howard: 'An Inexhaustible Treasure of Harmony'?
Composition and Variation in William Babell's Twenty-Four *Solos*

Alan Howard questions the validity of the statement by John Walsh quoted in his title and examines Babell's variation techniques particularly drawing attention to their closeness to Niedt's *Handleitung zur Variation* of 1706. He notes that Babell adopts a regular structure through most the solos and proposes that the collection was made by Walsh rather than the composer. Copious examples explore variation and ornamentation within the pieces, and their chronology is also discussed.

4. Min-Jung Kang: 'The Fashion for Corelli in England'

Min-Jung studies the early history of the trio-sonata in England, noting that the persistence of fantasia-suites led to a delay in the transition to sonata structure. She explores the arrival of Corelli's music in England, noting that this occurred in the later part of the seventeenth century. She singles out four stages in the process: (1) the importation of the original editions from Rome; (2) early manuscript copies of these as part of an enthusiasm for Italian string music; (3) the importation of the Amsterdam edition by Estienne Roger and the publication by John Walsh's of the Roman sets; (4) promotion of the music through the flourishing music clubs.

5. Robert Rawson: "'After the Italian manner": Finger, Pepusch
and the First Concertos in England'

Two essays in the volume are loosely linked by the *Haurboisten* wind ensembles which first became popular in England at the end of the seventeenth century. Here Robert Rawson notes that the 'concertos' by Finger and later Pepusch involved more than just oboes and bassoons, with recorders, violins and trumpets also playing their part. His fascinating examination of music by both Finger and Pepusch in England and on the continent, both through the Court and his patron Charles Montagu, sets in context a group of innovative pieces.

6. Rudolf Rasch: 'Geminiani's Minuets'

This fascinating article opens with the words 'The eighteenth century is the century of the minuet.' But Dr Rasch then extracts examples by Geminiani which he shows had a life of their own (much as Boccherini's famous piece), both in instrumental and in vocal forms. He acknowledges that 'Geminiani is not a composer especially known for minuets', but points out that many of the composer's pieces have minuet-like movements, although not named as such.

PRACTICES.

7. Nancy Hadden: 'Battles and *Branles*: The Swiss Flute in Early
Modern Europe'

This essay begins with exploring the military origins of the 'Swiss Flute' and the distinctive sound it made, noting a preference for 'tenor' size instruments over the 'soprano' ones. Soldiers had to memorize the distinct signals so they could act upon them as required. During the 16th and 17th centuries flute

consorts at court and elsewhere expanded the range of music played by flute ensembles and a distinction is made in inventories between transvers flutes and fifes.

8. Bryan White: 'Lost in Translation? Louis Grabu and John Dryden's *Albion and Albanus*'.

Grabu has been dealt with harshly by commentators over the years, but this is one of two recent attempts to rehabilitate him. (The other is Andrew R. Walkling's 'The ups and downs of Louis Grabu', *RMA Research Chronicle*, 48, 2017). This article fruitfully explores what Grabu and Dryden were aiming to create in *Albion and Albanus*, a French-style opera encouraged by Charles II, but acknowledging the difficulty in marrying a French idiom and Dryden's English text.

9. Michael Robertson: "'An agreeable murmur': Figured Bass and its Performance in German Dance Music during the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century'.

Michael Robertson examines 'the circumstances in which a chordal continuo might have been added to, or omitted from, dance music', noting different traditions which prevailed at court and in the towns. He emphasizes that treatises of the time assumed the organ to be the normal figured bass instrument. There is a further element to be considered: a 'French style' (imitated in Germany) emphasising treble and bass. He concludes that where town ensembles would normally include a figured bass part, at court 'chordal instruments should be considered as *ad libitum* contributors; their automatic presence cannot be justified.'

10. Thérèse de Goude: 'The Harmonic Language of English "Continued Bass" in the Seventeenth Century'.

Thérèse de Goude explores the changing aspects of figured and unfigured basses in England during the seventeenth century. She first surveys an array of sources and the instruments named for accompaniment. Two things stand out in her discussion: the progress 'from modal and intervallic harmony to tonal and chordal harmony' and 'continuo figuring which often indicates melodic motion rather than chord structures'.

11. Michael Talbot: 'Melodic Aspects of the Cadential Six-Four in Eighteenth-Century Music'.

What Michael Talbot calls the 'Slope Cadence' [6/4 - 5/3] he notes 'was not very often found before 1700'. This reminded me that when Thurston Dart was moderating my *Musica Britannica* Jenkins (vol. 26) he at first took me to task for including several of these, but then came to realise that it was an unexpected Jenkins trait. This is a fascinating look at some familiar patterns, quoting examples from Italian masters, in particular Albinoni.

12. Donald Burrows: "'Before him stood sundry sweet Singers of this our *Israel*": The Chorus Singers for Handel's London Oratorio Performances'.

Donald Burrows remarks that very few descriptions survive concerning the chorus singers for Handel's oratorio performances in London. This valuable essay explores the various extant comments, which are often partial and focussing on particular elements rather than the whole set-up of the performances. He surveys the numbers of singers, the position of Handel and others (as director) and where the organ was placed, the use of lady singers and of choirboys.

13. Samantha Owens: "Seven young Men on Hautboys": The Oboe Band in England c.1680-1740'.

This is the second essay related to the *Hautboisten* ensembles and surveys their popularity in various circles: military, municipal, and courtly. Samantha Owens notes that the instruments were newly refined at the French Court and spread to England in 1673. They became a desirable adjunct for senior figures like ambassadors to have and groups were employed at Court by William III and Princess (later Queen) Anne.

14. Fiona Smith: British Concert Repertory in Europe: A Survey of the Music belonging to the Stockholm Literary Society'.

It is perhaps inevitable that we in England tend to focus on music arriving here from the continent rather than vice versa. This is a valuable account of English music acquired for the Swedish Society *Utile Dulci* which met between 1766 and 1795. The collection is now at the Royal Swedish Academy of Music, although it's original scope of some 1300 works in print and manuscript is now split into two main groups, one assimilated into a collection featuring the music of J. H. Roman, who spent time in England. Sadly the on-line database used by Fiona is currently withdrawn. She notes the surprising omission from the collection of works by Arne, Boyce and Stanley, but lists and discusses many others. She concludes that "The high proportion of works by British-born or British resident composers in the collection is an indication of the importance of London as a musical centre at that time."

PEOPLE

15. Jonathan P. Wainwright: 'Angelo Notari's Music for the English Court'.

Jonathan is preparing an edition of the music of Angelo Notari's music and this essay explores a number of aspects relating to that from the major sources, the printed *Prime musiche nuove* (1613) the much later manuscript score GB-Lbl Add. MS 31440 and two partbooks from an incomplete set, GB-Och, Mus. 878 and 880. He notes 'It seems likely that Notari was a key conduit of the Italianate style to the more progressive composers of the English Court' and proposes possible links with the court of Prince Henry, the Spanish Ambassador, Sir Christopher Hatton, and Queen Henrietta Maria.

16. Robert Thompson: 'The Elusive Identity of John Playford'.

It appears that, while many facts about the family and life of John Playford the music publisher are beyond dispute, a genealogical error assumed his marriage

was to Hannah Allen, where it was in fact to Hannah Hussey, daughter of William and Ellin, at St Dunstan in the West on 1 December 1650. Using the formidable resources now available from Internet family research sites, Robert Thompson explores how the new information enables him to set out the publisher's involvement in publishing and music as part of a larger family enterprise which had been established in Norwich.

17. Stephen Rose: 'James Sherard as Music Collector'.

For students of instrumental music, Stephen Rose's survey of the work and manuscripts of James Sherard (1666-1738) will be of particular interest. Sherard and his brother William had fingers in many pies, including the importing and sale of manuscript and printed Italian music. Although an 'amateur' in that music was only a part of his activities, James was also a player and composer and today many of his music copies are in the Bodleian Library. They await a detailed study, but this essay uses James's commonplace book as a springboard to survey and list his manuscripts. Above all it highlights the hitherto poorly acknowledged fact that agents using postal and trade routes are as significant as personal connections in importing music to England from the continent.

18. John Cunningham: 'New Light on William Corbett's Gresham College Bequest'

As a widely travelled musician, Corbett amassed a vast collection of pictures, instruments and music, which he attempted unsuccessfully to sell in 1724 and 1728 and which was later rejected by Gresham College following his death. A brief survey of Corbett's life and compositions leads Dr. Cunningham to a discussion of surviving volumes, the discovery of a sale catalogue of March 1751 of Corbett's pictures and instruments and of his absorption of Italian culture,

19. Rebecca Herissone: "[T]ranscribed from the author[']s original manuscript": Philip Hayes and the Preservation of the Music of Henry Purcell?

This, to me, is one of the gems of the collection, a masterful study of a great music collection which, because of its late date, has not received the full attention of scholars. The author acknowledges that this is in part because Hayes's Purcell scores were often made direct from originals which still survive, so they add little to an edition and its commentary. But she qualifies that by writing: 'I believe they represent some of the earliest examples of genuinely critical editing of 'ancient' music and shows Hayes to be a far more important scribe than is acknowledged today.' We are grateful now to those who in their time went beyond the mere copying of notes and added pertinent comments to their work – a person like Nicholas L'Estrange, for instance, who collated variant readings from manuscripts loaned by friends. Rebecca Herissone lists others who through their collecting were influential in the collecting of Restoration music, but one could add too people like John Hullah and Mary Armit who had genuine historical curiosity. Fine tables and commentary on the Hayes Purcell manuscripts make this an exemplary study.

20. Graham Sadler: 'Rameau's Contacts with Britain'.

Graham Sadler makes the point that (at least in the eighteenth century) England disregarded French music, which here languished in the wake of that from Italy and Germany. One exception was Rameau, who, with dogged persistence, sought approval from the Royal Society for his writings on music theory and harmony. These had little effect until 1763, when the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club arranged to issue a Rameau treatise on the composition of canons, which was taken up by eleven subscribers. From 1750 John Walsh was also successful in publishing some of Rameau's keyboard music.

21. Julian Rushton: '*Gli equivoci*: Stephen Storace in the Shadow of Mozart.

Julian Rushton played a major part in overseeing the *Musica Britannica* edition of *Gli Equivoci* and no one is better placed to comment on it. Here he explores the extent to which the music by Storace and Mozart is linked and what influences might have passed from one to the other. He concludes that 'we should view Storace ... as an independently creative artist rather than as a disciple or imitator [of Mozart], and the peer of others of its time and place.'

An EPILOGUE section is devoted to reminiscences by Judy Tarling and Peter's family and includes a 15-page list of his publications.

Perhaps a fitting conclusion to the rich bounty served up by this volume are words by Michael Talbot. Lamenting a decline in the teaching of the 'nuts and bolts' of music – harmony, counterpoint, form - he writes

'I take heart from the writings of the illustrious person to whom this volume is dedicated, who is never afraid to challenge received opinion or open up new perspectives.'

ANDREW ASHBEE

Andrew Ashbee, *The Harmonious Musick of John Jenkins: Volume Two: Suites, Aires and Vocal Music* (London: Toccata Press, 2020) ISBN: 978-0-907689-47-8; hardcover price £45 (£35 if you buy from Toccata!)

John Jenkins (1592–1678) stands as one of the most important composers in seventeenth-century England. Born during the reign of Elizabeth I, his long life witnessed the accession of the Stuart line, bloody Civil War, Interregnum and Restoration. Although perhaps best-known for his viol consort music (where he excelled), Jenkins wrote in many of the main genres of his time. His consort music built on the traditions established by William Byrd; he engaged with the music of Coprario, and later William Lawes, but most clearly trod a path descended from Alfonso Ferrabosco II. While his music was clearly known in courtly circles, Jenkins did not gain a place in the Royal Music until 1660, when at the age of almost 70 he was appointed as a lutenist in the Private Music (although no lute music by him is known). Instead much of his working life was spent in country houses in East Anglia, especially in the royalist households of the Derham and L'Estrange families; later he resided with the North family at Kirtling, Cambridgeshire, teaching the young Roger North, from whose pen several accounts of the composer survive. Thanks largely to Ashbee we know a great deal of Jenkins and his music. The first half of Ashbee's comprehensive study of the Jenkins's life and works was published in 1992.¹ At the risk of over-stating the obvious, and to quote the publisher's blurb, this sequel is indeed 'long-awaited'. In that first volume Ashbee presented a detailed biographical account of Jenkins followed by an exposition of his music for viol consort. The second volume examines the rest of Jenkins's vast output. No small task.

The sub-title of 'Suites, Aires and Vocal Music' belies the breadth of material covered in the book across its fourteen chapters. Ashbee includes as Appendix 2 a complete catalogue of the composer's works: it runs to over a thousand; the airs in three parts alone number 204, the music for lyra viol 564. Not all of these are major works, of course. On one hand we have the weighty fantasia-suites and viol consort fantasias: on the other extreme the short ditties for lyra viol largely aimed at the amateur market. Some of his music was evidently not widely known, found only in single sources. Nevertheless, the sheer number of sources to contain Jenkins's music is indicative of his reputation and influence. Appendix 1 lists the sources in which this vast output is found: they number over 150 manuscripts now housed in libraries across the world, as well as 19 printed sources from 1648 to 1682. (These numbers do not include the references to lost sources and works, also given in Ashbee's lists.)

The almost three decades since the publication of Ashbee's first volume (now available in paperback) has seen the publication of a substantial number of the major works: the 78 fantasia-suites are, for example, all now included in the *Musica Britannica* series: volumes 78 (2001), 90 (2010), 104 (2019), all edited by Ashbee; 103 (2018), edited by Peter Holman and John Cunningham. Indeed, the wonderfully complete bibliography given by Ashbee lists no fewer

¹ *The Harmonious Musick of John Jenkins: Volume One: The Fantasias for Viols* (London, Toccata Press, 1992).

than 35 modern editions of Jenkins's works, 21 of which were published since 1992. The select discography lists over 150 pieces that can be heard across 37 recordings. It is an extremely helpful list to have, though it is decidedly less helpful that no details of the recordings are given beyond the ensemble and the CD number. And while no dates are included, I suspect that most were issued also since the early 1990s: the best among them (I suggest) are 'The Parley of Instruments' *Late Consort Music*, Fretwork's *Complete Four-Part Consort Music*, and Phantasm's recordings of the five- and six-part viol consorts. Apart from the viol consorts there are no complete recordings, but there is enough to get a broad aural sense of Jenkins's music. The discography documents the availability of the music, though many of the recordings are hard to find (and expensive when they are found, second-hand) and are not available on streaming platforms: an increasing issue as even laptops today tend not to come with a CD drive as standard. That aside, the documentation of the recordings is excellent to have.

Ashbee approaches his assessment of this vast repertoire by genre. The first half or so of the book (Chapters 1–6) is given over to an assessment of the fantasia-suites: the 78 suites arranged into eight 'Groups' (I–VIII). (Indeed, the Boydell website gives 'The Fantasia-Suites' as the book's subtitle.) Ashbee's first chapter sets the scene by offering a contextual introduction to the genre and Jenkins's place within it. As noted, all of the Jenkins suites are now available in modern critical editions in the Musica Britannica series; though no complete recording is available, examples are available from each group.² Fantasia-suite was a term coined by Thurston Dart to describe English suites comprising a fantasia and one or two dances. The genre was invented in the early 1620s by John Coprario in the household of the then Prince Charles (later Charles I), for one and two violins, bass viol and organ following the pattern fantasia-almaine-galliard. Arguably the best-known examples are the sixteen suites by William Lawes, written in the 1630s. It was, however, Jenkins that had the most sustained engagement with the genre. Jenkins's fantasia-suites often survive in late sources that offer little if any indication as to when they were written. Mostly written for country houses, rather than the court, Jenkins did not specify violins for his treble parts leaving them open to being played on either viols or violins. The groupings of the suites (I–VIII) are intended to suggest a broad chronology based on the compositional and stylistic traits, most obviously the replacement of the terminal galliard with the more modern corant and the incorporation of virtuosic divisions. Many of the groups also show Jenkins's concern with tonal order, often basing the suites on ordered tonics.

Chapter 2 deals with the earliest suites, those for treble, bass and organ (Groups I and II), which Ashbee argues were composed in the 1630s or 1640s and 'played in the Derham and L'Estrange households alongside the suites by Coprario (and perhaps Lawes)' (23). Jenkins's thin organ parts (in contrast to the more densely textured accompaniments of Coprario especially) may also be an indication that he felt as a non-keyboardist that it would be best to convey his intentions and allow the performer fill in the rest: the later suites all tend to

² Volumes 78 (2001), 90 (2010), 104 (2019, edited by Andrew Ashbee; volume 103 (2018), edited by Peter Holman and John Cunningham. My review of MB 104 appeared in the last issue of this journal.

have figured continuo parts rather than written-out organ accompaniments. Jenkins was clearly influenced by the suites of Coprario in the seventeen suites of Group I and perhaps also too by William Lawes in the ten suites of Group II. However, Ashbee highlights the madrigalian approach of Coprario in contrast to the ‘more architectural model of Ferraboso II’ (25). In the Group II pieces Ashbee hears more of the influence of Lawes, for example in the use of canonic imitation between the upper parts in suite no. 1. The nine suites for treble, two basses and organ comprising Group III are the subject of the following chapter. While in Groups I and II Jenkins followed the fantasia-almain-galliard structure of Coprario (though the galliards are titled as ‘Ayre’), in Group III Jenkins began to abandon the out-moded galliard in favour of the corant. The Group III suites introduce a great deal more divisions. Ashbee rightly identifies no. 7 as ‘undoubtedly one of Jenkins’ finest works’ (48). The chapter ends with a brief overview of the 29 pieces for treble and two basses for which only one bass part tantalisingly survives. Chapter 4 surveys the suites for treble, bass and organ of Group IV and the seven suites for two trebles, bass and organ of Group VI. Ashbee notes the stylistic relationship between the two Group IV suites and the Group III and VI suites, owing to Jenkins’s ‘extensive and elaborate divisions’ (54): they must almost certainly be the pieces described by Roger North and Christopher Simpson as typical of Jenkins’s ‘high flying vein’. The Group VI pieces are given a *terminus ante quem* of the late 1650s. Here Ashbee notes the different emphasis placed on the airs, which are ‘clearly intended to balance with the fantasias’ (66). Chapter 5 examines Groups V and VII. The former (for two trebles, two basses and organ) comprise eight suites, found complete in only a single source (BL, Add. MSS 27550–4), which is dated 1674. However, Ashbee argues based on style that Jenkins likely composed them for his colleagues in the Private Musick in the newly restored court in the 1660s. These suites, however, show a significant reduction in the use of divisions and Ashbee makes the interesting correlation with Jenkins’s viol consorts. The fifteen fancy-air suites of Group VII are similar in style, though at times approach something of the emerging trio sonata; they are, however, dealt with briefly. Chapter 6 deals with the ten Group VIII suites for three trebles, bass viol and continuo. The scoring is somewhat unusual in Restoration England, and seemingly introduced by the German violinist Thomas Baltzar, who arrived in London in 1655. Baltzar was appointed to the court in 1661, expanding the number of violinists in the Private Musick to three. The group presumably played Baltzar’s suite in C for three violins and continuo: evidently Jenkins was inspired to write his suites for the ensemble too. They surely rank among Jenkins’s finest music and deserve to be better known.

The remaining chapters deal with a diverse range of genres. Chapter 7 (‘Airs and other instrumental works’) offers context for the development of the air, especially with two equal trebles: as Peter Holman has shown, Maurice Webster seems to be the important link in the chain for bringing the SSB scoring to the English court. Indeed, Ashbee details the significant changes that occurred in dance music in England in the 1630s. Having prepared the ground, Ashbee looks next at Jenkins’s airs for two trebles, two basses and organ (Chapter 7): a highly important group of 32 ‘Ayres’ probably composed in the 1640s in East Anglia. The context was the staunchly royalist households

of his patrons, the Derhams and L'Estranges. It is in this collection that we find the evocatively programmatic 'Newark Siege'. The chapter concludes with a brief overview of a further 16 airs for the same scoring but with continuo. The first bass part has not survived. Ashbee places them among Jenkins's late works but sees them as lacking cohesion. The airs in four parts are the subject of Chapter 9. They mostly survive in a single source (Och, Mus. 367–70), compiled by John Browne, Clerk of the Parliaments. He seems to have compiled the manuscript in the late 1630s or early 1640s. Ashbee argues that many of the Jenkins pieces were originally written for a consort of four viols. Others are representative of the SSTB scoring introduced from Germany by Maurice Webster and taken up by composers such as William Lawes and Charles Coleman. The airs in three parts (Chapter 10) are divided into two groups: the ten airs for treble, tenor and bass; the 204 airs for two trebles and bass. Ashbee attributes the disparity in numbers to the survival of sources but also to the change in fashion in the 1630s after which the latter scoring dominated. The next chapter deals with the two-part airs. There are 168 airs by Jenkins that survive in that treble and bass format. Two-part music was commonplace in seventeenth-century England, though the repertoire has received relatively little attention, in part because of its amateur links and in part because it is seen as ephemera.³ Several of these pieces are also found in other scorings (Table 7 offers several examples). It would have been interesting to read more about this arrangement process.

Ashbee begins the chapter on the music for bass viols with an overview of the development of the division repertoire and that for two bass viols and organ. Jenkins's oeuvre includes 54 pieces for bass viol; given his reputation as a performer it is hardly surprising that he ranks among the most prolific. His most interesting music in this category is for two bass viols, though most pieces survive without the organ accompaniment. The music for lyra viol is discussed in Chapter 13. As with most of his contemporaries Jenkins wrote a substantial amount of pieces for (or arranged them for) lyra viol: over 250 survive. The solo music tends to be quite trivial, aimed at amateurs, much as those published in the various editions of Playford's *Musick's Recreation*. The ensemble lyra viol music is much more interesting musically. Much of it doesn't survive, however, as is evidenced from references in sale catalogues and the like. Those sources that do survive are often incomplete, lacking more parts than they contain, such as the tantalisingly incomplete in MS II.B.3 of the Dolmetsch Family Library in Haslemere, one part of otherwise unknown lyra viol trios by Jenkins, Lawes and others. The final chapter deals with the vocal music. Jenkins was primarily an instrumental composer, and it is hard to disagree with Roger North's conclusion (quoted by Ashbee) that the vocal music doesn't rival it. The numbers fade when compared with many of his contemporaries. Between 30–40 vocal pieces are known by Jenkins: 28 of them survive complete or largely so, perhaps the best-known of which is his wonderful elegy on the death of William Lawes published in *Choice Psalms* (1648). Ashbee concludes his study with a brief postscript considering the

³ See John Cunningham, 'A Meeting of Amateur and Professional: Playford's "Compendious Collection" of Two-Part Airs, *Court-Ayres* (1655)', in *Concepts of Creativity in Seventeenth-Century England*, ed. Rebecca Herissone and Alan Howard (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2013), 201–32

reception of Jenkins's music. He ends with an evocative analogy comparing Jenkins's music to the East Anglian landscape, which well sums the composer and his contemporaries, only a snippet of which I'll reproduce here: 'Avoiding the dramatic scenery explored by a Lawes, a Locke or a Purcell, his music is generally smooth and undulating' (231).

Sequels often have a tendency to disappoint, the more long-awaited the more acute that feeling can be. Not so in this case. Over the course of 231 pages Ashbee takes the reader on a journey through a lifetime of music. There is too much to discuss it all in detail; his representative selections are well-chosen and apposite. The discussions are amply illustrated with 82 music examples; readers will find useful too the various tables detailing the survival of Jenkins's works in important manuscript collections. Taken together Ashbee's two-volume study is an impressively comprehensive account of Jenkins, the man and the music. As was the first volume, this second instalment will be essential reading for anyone interested in English music of the seventeenth century and will no doubt feed into other larger-scale narratives in due course.

JOHN CUNNINGHAM

Bettina Hoffmann, *I bassi d'arco di Antonio Vivaldi*
Violoncello, contrabbasso e viola da gamba al suo tempo e nelle sue opere

Collana "Studi di musica veneta, Quaderni vivaldiani", XIX, Leo S. Olschki editore, Firenze, 2020, xvi-596 pp. ISBN: 9788822266903. Paperback, £60 [In Italian]

[Antonio Vivaldi's bass stringed instruments - The cello, double bass and viola da gamba at his time and in his works]

In the second half of the 16th century poetry and theatre prospered in England as did secular performances of music, in particular arrangements of vocal works and also new compositions for the delicate stringed instruments of the viol family. Leading scholars of all stripes have shone light on this fascinating period and have also mapped out the developments which took performances out of the grand houses, where whole families were often proficient viol players, and into public spaces. But it was not until the early 18th century, when the viol's potent relatives in the violin family had gained popularity, and professional music-making developed, that sturdy (Baroque) music reached these shores.

By contrast the Italians, or should we say the cognoscenti of the different city states of the peninsula, had lost interest in viols already by the mid 17th century (except in niches such as Messina, home to the Ruffo family of instrumentalists), because performances by virtuoso violinists, and even cellists, had come to dominate musical taste. The phenomenon is one of many important themes in the new book about the music of Vivaldi (1678-1741) by the excellent musicologist, Bettina Hoffmann, herself a performer of both the bass viol and cello. Her apology early in the book for the lack of enthusiasm for viols in Italy will endear her to fellow contributors and members of the Viola da Gamba Society, even if its publications over the last 70 years have encompassed all bowed stringed instruments.

As her major publication of 2006, a wide-ranging history of *'The Viola da Gamba'*, only became available in English in 2018, I am delighted to have read in Italian and be able to champion this new book, published in 2020, which focusses on a really important Baroque composer. Until comparatively recently, Vivaldi has been ignored or belittled. Ordained in 1703, and on account of his red hair, he was just the 'Red Priest' who wrote 'boring and repetitive concertos' for his pupils to perform (so at least 50 operas and some 60 sacred works were overlooked). Thankfully the king of Venetian music has now fully emerged from the Ospedale della Pietà, the orphanage where he lived and worked for most of his life, due in large part to the excellent research of Michael Talbot, Peter Ryom, Micky White and others, and his music is now ubiquitously performed with enthusiasm.

While much of ‘*The bass stringed instruments of Antonio Vivaldi*’ might be regarded only as compulsory reading for cellists, as Part 2 is devoted to detailed analysis of all of the cello concerti (RV398 through to RV423, two spurious ones and one for two celli), the book takes an engaging view of many historical facts and thus provides a rich picture of the musical life around Vivaldi. Bettina Hoffmann gives her own insights into the many sources, both original and modern, found in Italian and German libraries and also Manchester (!). She brings with her the knowledge of an internationally known performer and also the salt and pepper of being German but living in Tuscany, married to a very successful Florentine flautist. She studied with the legendary viol player, Wieland Kuijken in the Netherlands, who surely instilled in her a broad understanding and brought rigour to her analysis of works for bass instruments. The whole subject has been neglected in part because treble instruments have a more solistic profile than do the bassi (and continuo keyboard) used predominantly to accompany them. This study is therefore very welcome.

Part 2 is full of musical examples to help interested performers chose works and also identify technical problems caused, for example, by fingerings. Each cello concerto is set into the context of the composer’s life, maybe when the same music had been used in another compositional context or performances of it were well documented in church or noblemen’s records. There are references to the rastrographic work of other researchers and also to the transgressions of copyists. We have forgotten the importance of their role, namely that every note of a manuscript had to be re-written for others’ use by either the composer or an ‘assistant’. Germans were apparently good at it, as is testified by, for example, material found in the castle of Schönborn zu Wiesentheid in Bavaria.

How music and musicians continually criss-crossed Europe, given that travel was always arduous, could merit a whole separate study. Meanwhile Part 1 of this book draws attention to the many instrumental performers in demand throughout Italy, as well as north of the Alps, during Vivaldi’s lifetime. There are brief outlines of the situation in the major cities: Naples flourished as part of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, which was Spanish, and enjoyed a rich musical life. Rome had the Popes as well as many noble families, whose properties are still today familiar landmarks for tourists, and the city was a magnet for the best performers coming from elsewhere. Florence had the Medici, for centuries ardent patrons of the Arts as well as bankers, while across the North, each of the quite small cities competed for artistic recognition, often exchanging musical performers and composers. Indeed why did Vivaldi take employment from the governor of Mantua for just three years from 1718, live briefly in Milan, then Rome, and return in 1723 to Venice, the influential city of his birth, resuming his employment at a girls’ orphanage?

A discussion of terminology highlights the fact that dialects and eccentric spellings are found everywhere and can cause confusion among performers, and

maybe historians, even today. While a violin was always a violin, there were some 20 names for the bass instruments in use well into the 18th century (and a viola was not necessarily what we know as one!). For the purposes of defining their roles, the book settles on Violoncello and Contrabbasso and in addition the Viola da Gamba, the ‘abandoned instrument’, is accorded its own eloquent chapter. Vivaldi specified its use in just four of his works, but Hoffmann declares that he is the ONLY composer to write idiomatically for it. Interestingly Vivaldi consistently called it the Viola all’inglese, the English viol.

To back up the text, there is iconographic evidence and I suggest that the images reproduced in the chapter about the double bass are particularly entertaining, as well as informative about bow holds and left-hand positions. Inventories of what instruments wealthy families owned also contribute to the story, for example that Prince Ferdinando de’ Medici owned many ‘violette all’inglese’. Details of who did what at the Ospedale della Pietà at the start of the book reveal a fully developed social environment. Vivaldi was employed to compose regularly for both the choir and orchestra of young players and to teach them not only his own instrument, the violin, but also the larger string instruments. Presumably this helped him hone his composing skills for the bassi. Descriptions of the attitude to lessons of the youngsters are quite revealing and several of the most talented, like the cellist Teresa della Viola, are colourfully depicted. Other duties for Vivaldi included purchasing strings and organising instrument repairs, all of which was detailed in regular bills from a luthier, Matteo Selles (or Sellas). Great instrument makers known to us today, such as the Venetian Matteo Gofriller who specialised in making cellos, are also mentioned.

Bringing clarity to our composer’s artistry, chapters at the end of the book closely analyse the numbers of bass stringed instruments (and harpsichord or bassoon) that were used in orchestras. One chart shows how many instruments played in Vivaldi’s works in which venues of different cities, and in which year. The other lists nearly all the works from RV88 to RV749, detailing which movements called upon which accompanying instruments in which solo concertos and also which ones accompanied singers in sacred works and in operatic arias. One of the obvious functions was word painting, but in fact the information is anyway essential for any player wanting to reproduce accurately Vivaldi’s colours and textures and control the overall balance of sound. If today’s Baroque ensembles want help to ensure that their performances are authentic, this book is an essential guide.

So much for our reclusive priest living in Venice. It is perhaps an irony that after moving to Vienna in 1739 at the instigation of the Emperor Charles VI, he did not live long, in part because his patron died before him. Fortunately fame had already been achieved as many of Vivaldi’s works had been widely distributed by Le Cène, the Amsterdam publishers, as well as by itinerant performers who had

known him in Venice. Many manuscripts have been found in major artistic centres such as Dresden, Ansbach and Prague where Italians were engaged by the Princes as resident or visiting artists. Maybe a book shedding light on the musical life at these richly endowed centres could be Bettina Hoffmann's next publication?

CELIA POND

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

DAVID FORCE studied as an organ scholar at the University of Durham, later gaining an M.A. with distinction in musicology and a Ph.D. for his research into the use of the organ in seventeenth-century English consort music (<http://oro.open.ac.uk/67540/>). He is an honorary Visiting Fellow at the Open University where his current research focusses on the use of the consort organ in domestic vocal music and at the post-Restoration royal Catholic chapels. David has over 30 years' experience teaching music in independent schools and is currently Director of Music at Saint Ronan's school in Kent.

JONATHAN DUNFORD has lived in Paris since 1985, where he has been a leading figure in bringing solo seventeenth century music for unaccompanied bass viol back to public attention. He performs frequently not only as a soloist, but with many groups, including 'A 2 Violes Esgales', which he founded with the violist Sylvia Abramowicz, and the ensemble 'Oiseau de Feu' (arab and baroque music) directed by Gerard Kurkdjian. He has made many prestigious recordings on the viol for Adès- Universal Music Classics. Besides his activity as a performer, Jonathan is an avid researcher. He has published numerous articles and made editions of viol music for the Cahiers du Tourdion of Strasbourg and the Société Française de Musicologie. In 2004 he was appointed curator of viol music at the Centre de Musique Baroque in Versailles.

FRANÇOIS-PIERRE GOY was born in Troyes (France) in 1960. Since 1995 he has been a librarian at the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Paris), at first at the Audiovisual department, then at the Music department, where he is currently in charge of the 16th to 18th-century collections. Since 2013, he has been a member of the IReMus (Institut de recherche en musicologie, formerly IRPMF, Institut de recherche sur le patrimoine musical français), a research unit of the Centre national de la recherche scientifique. His musicological research focuses on the sources of music for plucked strings and for viol, mainly of the seventeenth century, including the lives of the composers and other persons involved in those sources, as well as on the exchanges between the various instrumental and vocal repertoires through transcription or parody. Between 1986 and 1992 he took part in the edition of several volumes of the Corpus des luthistes français (Éditions du CNRS). Then he was one of the contributors to the catalogue Sources musicales en tablature, directed by Christian Meyer. Beside various articles and editions of sources and works in his favourite research fields, he has published the catalogue of the early music holdings of the French region of Champagne-Ardenne in the Patrimoine musical régional series. With Andreas Schlegel, he is co-author of Accords nouveaux (<http://www.accordsnouveaux.ch>), a website devoted to the lute music in 'accords extraordinaires'

DAVID PINTO has played with the Jaye Consort and the English Consort of Viols, among others. His editions include some of the major chamber works of William Lawes; his investigations into sources have uncovered a major seventeenth-century collector of instrumental and vocal music, John Browne (Clerk of the Parliaments), and part of his collection in the library of Christ Church, Oxford. He also identified (within the same Aldrich Bequest there) the other comparable collection, by Sir Christopher Hatton II, patron of Orlando Gibbons, and his son Christopher 1st Baron Hatton. His playing edition of John Amner's consort anthems, released at the end of 2015, adds reconstructions of those in manuscript to those published exactly four centuries beforehand.

POLLY SUSSEX, was born in Australia but moved to New Zealand at an early age. She studied violoncello and piano in Prague and at the Royal Academy of Music in London. Later she studied for her B.Mus. Hons., and Ph. D. (The Violoncello Sonatas of Luigi Boccherini) at the University of Otago, New Zealand. She also holds diplomas in Teaching and in Arts Administration from the University of Auckland, New Zealand. More recently, she became interested in the viola da gamba. In 2007 and 2008, Polly undertook postgraduate studies in viola da gamba at the Hochschule fuer Kuenste, Bremen, North Germany with Hille Perl and at the Scola Cantorum in Basel, Switzerland with Paolo Pandolfo. She plays all sizes of viola da gamba, including the pardessus. Polly Sussex performs and teaches piano, violoncello and viola da gamba; she also researches Baroque cello and viola da gamba music of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Her article Boccherini: the "Tenor and "Alto' Violoncelli and the Stift Seitenstetten, was published in Boccherini Studies Volume 5. In 2020, her article The High-Baroque French style of Viol Bowing and Use of the enflé in the Works of Marin Marais, will be published by Academic Studies Press, Boston, in a new series entitled, Studies in History and Sociology of Music. Polly performs with the Baroque chamber groups, Affetto, Vivente and Hausmusik. For recreation, she plays an English square piano of 1835.

ANDREW ASHBEE is the current curator of the Viola da Gamba *Thematic Index of Music for Viols* and General Editor of this *Journal*. His principal research interests are in English Court Music 1485-1714, and music for viols, especially that of John Jenkins. He has published much on both topics in books and articles. The second volume of his study of the music of John Jenkins: *Harmonious Musick: Suites, Airs and Vocal Music* was published in 2020, following the completion of editions of Jenkins's Fantasia-Suites, the last appearing as *Musica Britannica*, vol. 104 (2019).

JOHN CUNNINGHAM is a Reader in Musicology and Director of Research at the School of Music and Media, Bangor University. He completed his PhD at the University of Leeds in 2007 under the supervision of Peter Holman. In addition to a wide range of book chapters and articles,

he is the author of *The Consort Music of William Lawes, 1602–1645* (Woodbridge, 2010). John is a Senior Fellow of the Higher Education Academy. He is also a member of the editorial committees of the Purcell Society and of *Musica Britannica*. His current projects include a volume of Matthew Locke's consort music (with Dr Silas Wollston) for the *Musica Britannica* series, and an edition of trio sonatas written in England by English composers, c.1695–1714. His edition, with Peter Holman, of *Restoration Music for Three Violins and Bass*, *Musica*

CELIA POND played the cello from an early age, studying at the Junior Dept. of the Royal College of Music in London. She began at Girton, Cambridge, as a music student but changed to read Modern Languages (German and Italian) for Part 1, rejoining the Music Department in the third year. Having by then learned the bass viol and played many concerts principally with 'The Vivaldi Players', she chose as the subject of her Finals dissertation 'Ornamentation in French Bass Viol Music, 1680-1740'. A College travel scholarship facilitated studies at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris in 1977 and in 1978 Early Music published an article with the same name. Attending the International Musicians Seminar at Prussia Cove in 1978 was a game-changer and Celia went to study the cello with Johannes Goritzki in Düsseldorf, assisted by a DAAD Scholarship of the West German Government. There were students at the Robert Schumann Institut from many European countries and a couple of years later the idea of founding a small, international chamber orchestra was born. Celia's husband, Ambrose Miller, became its principal promoter and with between 13 and 19 players (usually) the ECCO was soon in demand across Europe. In the early 1990s, as EUCO, it became a vehicle of the European Commission and toured South America, Asia and the Middle East many times, performing in total in 73 countries of five continents. When the funding stopped in 2011, Celia retired as a cellist and has since been tour manager. With live performances on hold in 2020, she's been happy to turn her attention back to academic pursuits.